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STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

JUNE 1936

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STRIKES AND COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

BY REV. CORNELIUS LUCEY, M.A., D.D.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

NEXT to the problem of securing peace between nations, the most insistent problem of our civilization is that of securing peace in industry. So far we have tried to solve this latter problem along the same lines as the international one—that is, by having the parties fully equipped for a struggle—and with the same disastrous results. Every other day we have a lining up of employers on one side and of labour unions on the other—each, defiant and distrustful of the other, seems almost to welcome a trial of strength. These trials of strength—we call them strikes and lockouts—are not, of course, trials by physical force and with the deadly weapons of war, though they do sometimes degenerate into crude violence and bloodshed. But normally the weapon used is economic rather than physical; each combatant strives to starve the other into submission.

Why this conflict between employers and employees? Statistics give us the answer. For all countries as many strikes and lockouts result from disagreement over wages as from all other causes put together. In the United States, for the period 1916-1933, 55 per cent. of all strikes turned principally on wages. The average in Great Britain from the end of the War to 1930 is given as 59 per cent., while here in the Free State the average since 1930 is roughly 49 per cent. The second great source of industrial trouble is the employer's claim to hire and fire his employees at his own discretion. This opens the door to what the workers call victimization. About one-third of all the strikes in this country since 1930 are attributable to this source. A third source of industrial disputes is the claim of trade unions to exclusive recognition or to certain privileges from the employers. For the period 1919–1930 just 7.5 per cent of all strikes in England arose in this way. Strange to say, the

question of hours leads to comparatively few stoppages—for example, the average for Great Britain figures out at a mere 4 per cent. of all stoppages. Sympathetic strikes, strikes resulting from the refusal to handle so-called tainted goods, account nowadays for less than 4 per cent. of all stoppages, though they usually involve large numbers of workers. Roughly 20 per cent. of all who strike each year are sympathetic strikers.

Every stoppage, no matter by whom or for what purpose it is organized, tends to produce exactly the same consequences—both to employer and to employee. The former, as a rule, has his business brought to a complete standstill. This means a big financial loss to him. First of all, he loses whatever profits he would have made in the ordinary course. But he loses far more; for he has to meet all overhead charges—rent, interest on borrowed capital, fire and other insurances, etc.—just the same as if his plant were earning. Worse still, his property deteriorates rapidly by the mere fact of being idle and unattended—mines flood, machinery rust, raw materials perish—so that work cannot be resumed without an initial cost of much time and money. Finally, customers are forced to place their orders with competing firms, and customers once lost are not easily regained.

But if the employer suffers, so too does the employee—and generally far more acutely. He has to go without wages, and on wages he depends for his daily bread. His trade union, of course, gives him strike-pay; but this is only a fraction of his weekly wage; it must be supplemented in some way—by drawing on his savings, if he is so fortunate as to have savings, by pawning his furniture, or by pledging his future earnings to shopkeepers. Hence if the stoppage lasts for a longish period—and in Ireland that is the unfortunate rule—the worker and his family are ultimately reduced to dire necessity, if not to actual starvation. Here is the grim tragedy of every prolonged strike—the starving children, the stricken wife, the denuded house, the debt-ridden worker. And even if the worker wins, his victory may often be as barren as that of the Allied Powers in the Great War. The

stoppage and the terms of the settlement may cripple the firm on which he depends for work.

The modern strike pays victor and vanquished no better than the modern war, and just like the modern war it is liable to inflict considerable loss and suffering on the whole community. At the moment of writing a strike of Dublin coal-heavers is in progress. How this strike affects the general public is evident to anyone who reads the daily press. Those who have not provided themselves with a good supply of coal are suffering great inconvenience--and often great hardship in this cold weather. The poor are the chief sufferers ; but they are not the only sufferers. A prolonged coal strike leads to the slow paralysis of industry ; factory after factory has to close down as the supply of coal becomes exhausted. Generally the strikers, in the interests of humanity, except certain institutions and industries, such as hospitals and bakeries. But war is war, and the greater the inconvenience caused to the general public by a strike, the greater are its chances of success. If the state provides the worker with no better method of self-defence than the strike, the general public cannot complain of the ruthless application of this method. It is, however, the purpose of this article to suggest a more rational and a more efficient method. But to prepare the reader for this suggestion, there are some further aspects of the strike that need to be considered.

From the nature of things, it is impossible to give any accurate figures of the losses to the community occasioned by strikes. We can never do more than guess at the indirect losses, and the direct losses to the employer or the worker may be so offset by better prices or higher wages secured by the strike that here too we must often be content with a guess. Nevertheless certain tentative estimates have been made. For instance, it is calculated that the United States has lost an everage of £200,000,000 yearly through labour troubles since 1918. In this country, in 1934, roughly £30,000 was lost in wages alone, and this even when we allow for strike pay. Last year the sum was almost £45,000—a considerable sum for a small country with few industries.

The indirect losses to the community must, of course, have been many times more.

Labour trouble is no less disastrous from the social and moral point of view. In the first place, it is always seized upon by the subversive elements of a country as an opportunity for the propagation of revolutionary ideas. For this reason the deliberate policy of the Communist International is and always has been to encourage and prolong strikes rather than to adjust them. And we in Ireland are not free from the insidious influence of the Communist International. Again feeling is sure to run high while a stoppage lasts, and it does not subside automatically with the resumption of work. Every dispute, no matter what the result, leaves a certain legacy of bitterness. It is the normal aftermath of war, and it is naturally exploited by the socialist demagogues and press. The crimes of capitalism, the arch-enemy, are denounced in the most violent language, whilst the virtues of class-warfare are lauded as the only radical remedy. Class-war and the ethics of the jungle—the principles established and practised by Soviet Russia—are given the place of the Christian principles of justice and charity in regulating the world of labour.

Something might be said in favour of the strike, if it guaranteed a fair settlement of each dispute. Unfortunately it does not. All it ensures is that the party with the greater economic strength and endurance will win. And as often as not, that will be the party with the least right on its side; for, as in international disputes, right and might are not always found together. Hence from the ethical standpoint the strike or lockout is a most unsatisfactory way of adjusting disputes. It is just as likely to perpetuate injustice as to remedy it. We smile in a superior way at the custom among simpler peoples of deciding the guilt or innocence of an accused man by ordeal or single combat rather than by judicial trial. Yet we watch unconcerned our own industrial quarrels being decided in the same irrational way. And we have not even the excuse that these men of earlier days had—they thought that God would intervene to give victory to the innocent

party; we know that He will not. Only in the next life will God put things right by His final judgment. In this life, if we want justice to reign, we must secure it by our own human efforts.

Perhaps we should not worry so much about these strikes if they were rare happenings. But they are not rare. On the contrary we are never without them. The following are some of the relevant statistics. During the year 1933 there were 88 different strikes in the Free State, involving 9057 workers and resulting in the loss of 200,126 working days. Hence each strike lasted an average of some 22 working days —almost four working weeks. For the year 1934 the figures were: 99 strikes, 9288 strikers, 180,080 working days lost—an average of 21 days for each strike. Last year had the same number of strikes—99—but 9513 strikers and 288,077 days lost—or the big average of five weeks for each strike. For Great Britain since the war the average is roughly a thousand strikes a year, involving a million workers and with an average of some twelve days for each strike. The contrast between Ireland and England in the average duration of each strike is worthy of note. The Englishman is always prepared to compromise, whether the issue be economics, politics or religion; not so the Irishman.

Is there no way of putting a stop to those disastrous conflicts in industry? At first sight it would seem that there is not. We cannot close our eyes to the fact that there is a conflict of interests between employers and employees when it comes to a division of industrial profits. The greater the share demanded by one side, the less that remains for the other. Hence, human nature being what it is, we cannot hope that both sides will be always reasonable. In estimating relative claims, differences of opinion are sure to occur and to occur frequently. After all, they occur in every sphere of life where men come in contact with each other. Neighbours have their misunderstandings, buyers and sellers are often at loggerheads, and even within the home itself disagreements and quarrels aplenty crop up. It seems the way of all flesh—a legacy of original sin. A greater infusion of the Christian

spirit of justice and charity would diminish the number of these various disagreements; but while the present wage-system endures, and while men are men and not angels, so long will there be disputes between wage-payers and wage-earners.

But if industrial disagreements are, humanly speaking, inevitable, recourse to force in the shape of strikes and lock-outs is certainly not inevitable. There are other and less costly ways of settlement. These are conciliation, mediation, voluntary arbitration, compulsory investigation, and compulsory arbitration. It will be useful to say a word about each of these, because the ideal industrial order at which we aim must embody them all in one form or another.

The first step towards preventing a strike, once disagreements come to a head, is by way of *conciliation*. Accredited representatives of both parties to a dispute come together for the purpose of threshing out the question at issue. No outsiders are present. The parties themselves initiate the conference, argue out their case with each other, and try to make the best bargain they can. Usually, of course, a conciliation settlement will take the form of a compromise between the demands originally made by each side.

If conciliation fails or for some reason has not been tried, then comes *mediation*. This is the bringing together of the disputing parties by some disinterested person. Anybody who has the confidence of both parties may act as mediator —for instance, the local clergyman or the mayor or some prominent personage in the locality. The mediator does not attempt to settle the dispute on his own; he just gets the parties to meet and discuss their difficulties together. The value of mediation is evident. It is often difficult for either of the disputants to suggest conciliation. This is true especially when a dispute is of long standing or when conciliation has been already tried without success. In such cases each side is already publicly committed to a definite stand, and both stands are diametrically opposed. Since to suggest a conference is tantamount to an offer to compromise, neither side can do this in the circumstances without receding from its

published position. Yet the demands made by each party are always maximum demands, and the concessions offered are always minimum offers. In reality, therefore, they are both ready to back down somewhat, if only they can save their faces at the same time. Here is the mediator's chance. He can bring them together without any loss of face to either side; and when once brought together, they will probably not break off the negotiations until a solution has been found.

A third method of avoiding industrial warfare is that of *voluntary arbitration.* Here both parties submit the question at issue to an impartial judge or board—but without obligation on either party to abide by the judgment. They bind themselves merely to hear what this impartial tribunal has to say; but they realise that whichever side is favoured by the findings of the tribunal and is prepared to accept them gains thereby a decided moral advantage in the dispute. As a matter of fact only a small percentage of disputes are submitted to arbitration for settlement. As in the world of international politics, the trouble is that the disputants cannot agree upon what sort of tribunal will be impartial. Both sides are so convinced of the justice—or perhaps the strength—of their case that they fear to submit it to any arbitrator; for they envisage every such arbitrator as another Solomon prepared to split the baby in two.

Compulsory investigation lies half way between voluntary arbitration and compulsory arbitration. It is just the legal prohibition of a strike or lockout until the dispute has been arbitrated on and the award made public. The great merits of this procedure are that it eliminates lightning strikes, gives full time to investigate the question at issue, and puts the public in a position to judge of the rights and wrongs of the dispute. In 1907 Canada adopted compulsory investigation for all industrial disputes, and she has had an enviable record for industrial peace ever since.

We admitted earlier in this article that differences of opinion between employers and their workers are, humanly speaking, inevitable. We must go still further here and admit that a certain percentage of these differences will inevitably culminate

in a strike or lockout, unless they are legally prohibited. Conciliation, mediation, voluntary arbitration, compulsory investigation—each of these helps to lessen the number of strikes; but certain disputes can pass through all four and be as far from settlement as ever. Some employers will be found too obstinate and autocratic ever to compromise; some workers will be found equally obstinate and equally impervious to reason; and some disputes will present such a complicated tissue of rights and wrongs that each party can be honestly convinced that justice is all on its side. If you permit strikes and lockouts at all, then strikes and lockouts you are sure to have. Both reason and history are there to prove that statement. But reason and history also prove that strikes and lockouts are a foolish and irrational method of settling industrial disputes. Why then not follow the example of other countries and introduce the more rational method of compulsory arbitration?

What is *compulsory arbitration?* It is the system wherein the Government compels all disputes in industry to be submitted to a special tribunal when the parties themselves have reached a deadlock. The judicial award of this tribunal is automatically binding on the management and men concerned, just like the judicial award of a civil or criminal court. Strikes and lockouts are illegal; to organize or take part in one is, therefore, a punishable offence. All Fascist, Totalitarian and Communist States—Italy, Germany, Russia—have adopted this system; but there is nothing distinctively Fascist or Totalitarian or Communist in compulsory arbitration. Since 1904 Australia—a democratic country—has banned all strikes and lockouts. Another democratic country, New Zealand, was the first—as early as 1894—to try out the principle in practice. In 1933 Norway also adopted the principle, though professedly as a temporary measure. Besides, we should not forget that during the Great War England and all the belligerent countries proclaimed a state of emergency for industry and insisted on compulsory arbitration for disputes.

Compulsory arbitration is the price to be paid for the

elimination of industrial warfare. Should we be prepared to pay this price? Yes: it seems we should and for several good reasons. In the first place, compulsory arbitration is our best guarantee that labour troubles will be settled fairly. And as Christians we are bound to see that they shall be so settled; for he is a poor Christian who wishes his class to win, right or wrong, who forgets that the Christian ideal is to seek and find out which side is right and then to secure that this side wins. Now an impartial tribunal of qualified judges, put in possession of all the facts of a dispute, is surely the best guarantee of a fair and just settlement. We accept that principle for other disputes, and we admit the competence of the State to set up the proper tribunals for such disputes. Why not admit its competence also to set up the proper tribunals for industrial disputes? Its duty is to promote the common good; and there is no doubt that the common good will be advanced by compulsory arbitration. The State, and the State alone, is competent to establish arbitration courts, competent to see that these courts function impartially, and competent to impose the findings of these courts on both parties to a dispute.

If compulsory arbitration is desirable for organized labour, it is doubly desirable for unorganized labour. Unless backed by a strong trade union, with reserves of money and powers of propaganda, a strike has little chance of success. In face of an unscrupulous employer the unorganized worker is helpless; he has only the alternatives of exploitation or starvation. In face of a ruined industry he is doubly helpless. A good example of the unorganized worker is our agricultural labourer. Compare his weekly wage of 18/– with that of the urban worker who receives from 40/– to 80/– a week. You will say that the farmer is unable at present to pay a higher wage. That may be true—which means that "something is rotten in the state of Denmark." But how is the agricultural labourer to be convinced of that, and why should he be victimized along with the farmer? Yet under present conditions he has no machinery to enforce a living wage—no one can say that 18/– a week is a living wage, much less

a family wage. But if he had at his service compulsory arbitration such as we envisage, he would have the necessary machinery. And the agricultural labourer is not the only worker in Ireland who would benefit enormously by the introduction of compulsory arbitration. Every other day new industries are springing up in the Free State; but every other day the leaders of organized labour are denouncing the conditions of work in these industries. The majority of the workers in them are girls, and it is notorious that these girls are hopelessly unorganized—and consequently the easy victims of exploitation. The best remedy for this state of things is compulsory arbitration. Even in established industries a large proportion of operatives are women. And women, no less than girls, are poorly equipped to fight for their rights. It is the duty of the state to see that they get their rights, and we cannot suggest any more efficient method than compulsory arbitration.

When we advocate compulsory arbitration for the settlement of industrial disputes, we do not advocate it to the exclusion of conciliation or voluntary arbitration. As in ordinary life so in industrial life, disputes settled out of court are always less expensive, less protracted and less likely to leave a legacy of ill-will than those settled by judicial decree. Recourse to compulsory arbitration should take place only when conciliation, mediation and investigation have been fully tried and have failed. In the case of organized labour recourse to compulsory arbitration will probably be very rare; but in the case of unorganized labour and of women workers it can be extremely useful—especially if the arbitration court has the power of taking the initiative in flagrant cases of exploitation. Women workers, fearful of victimization, will not generally take such action.

Once we accept the principle of compulsory arbitration—and we must accept it, I think, if we have due respect for justice, efficiency and peace in industry—there arises the problem of deciding on the constitution of the proposed arbitration court. This, however, is not an insuperable problem. We have the regular courts of justice and such

a court as the Land Commission Court to serve as models. Besides, we can turn to other countries, examine their system of compulsory arbitration and see what form of court functions best.

No country is so devoid of machinery for the peaceful settlement of industrial troubles as our own. We have few industrial councils, such as the Whitley Councils in England, with business itself. And we have no regular State machinery. All we have is a statute of 1919—the Industrial Court Act—which empowers the Minister of Labour to set up an Arbitration Board to enquire into any disputes he would like to have a report on, and to settle any disputes voluntarily submitted to it. Hence we must begin from scratch in organizing conciliation and arbitration on a national basis. Perhaps we could not do better than adopt the Australasian plan for conciliation and a modified form of the Italian plan for arbitration. The first step to implement such a programme would be the creation of a new department, attached to the present Ministry of Industry and Commerce, which would have the administration of all Acts and Regulations concerning the Labour Contract. At least five commissioners should be attached to this department—one for Dublin, one for each of the Provinces (putting Ulster and Connacht together), and one with a roving commission. The duties of each commissioner should be to make himself conversant with conditions and grievances within his own area, to receive complaints from employers or workers, and to act as mediator once a dispute comes to a head. As mediator the commissioner's first act should be to arrange a round-table conference between the parties involved. In the event of the breakdown of this conference he should call a second conference, preside at it himself and, if requested by either party, put forward suggestions for a fair settlement. If the parties still fail to come to an agreement, he should make a record of the discussions and send it, with a confidential report of his own, to the Central Arbitration Court in Dublin.

This Arbitration Court shall be presided over by a special industrial judge. At every hearing this judge shall be assisted

(1) by two permanent councillors, who are experts in problems of economics and labour, and who have never been actively identified with either Capital or Labour; (2) by two other councillors, one nominated by the Trade Union Congress and one nominated by the Employers' Federation—each to hold office for one year. The procedure and status of this court shall be those of the ordinary court of appeal. It shall, therefore, have power to compel the attendance of witnesses, the production of relevant books and documents—whatever, in a word, is necessary for the proper functioning of the court. Solicitors or barristers briefed by the interested parties may appear before it. The verdict, based on the evidence and the law, shall be the verdict of the judge alone, but delivered only after consultation with the four councillors. From this verdict, if both permanent councillors agree with it, there shall be no appeal. But if one or both of these councillors disagree with the judge's verdict, it shall be open to the aggrieved party to appeal to the Supreme Court. To safeguard the impartiality and prestige of the judge, permanent councillors and commissioners, they shall be appointed by the Executive Council and shall enjoy the privileges and permanency of the ordinary court judges.

What principles are to guide the Court in its decisions? First and foremost the legislation which bears on the matter in dispute, and secondarily equity. For instance, we have the CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT ACT, 1936—which determines the hours, times and conditions of work for "adult workers," "women" and "young persons," both in factories and as "outworkers." In any dispute as to hours, etc., the Court shall simply apply the provisions of this Act. And since the Act does not extend to agricultural work or domestic service, a new section specially suited to these categories should be added by the Legislature.

The majority of labour troubles, as we know, spring from wage-claims. Now the doctrine of the family living wage is an integral part of Christian social teaching. The State should legalise this principle, and indicate in terms of food, clothing, housing and facilities for amusement what standard

of living it entails. A second provision of this proposed Wages Act should be the standardisation of wages, that is, the making of " equal pay for equal work ", within and between industries, a legally binding principle. A third section of the Act should deal with what is called industry's " capacity to pay." When an industry can show that, through no fault of its own, it cannot afford its workers a living wage the Government should pledge itself to take measures to help that industry, and in the meantime to make up the deficit between the wage the industry can afford and the living wage. Lastly, an Act should be introduced making all strikes and lockouts illegal, fixing the penalties for breaches of this regulation or of the Employment and Wages Acts, determining procedure for the enforcement of the awards of the Arbitration Court, etc.[1]

With some such comprehensive labour legislation on the Statute Book the Court will not be unduly dependent on the whim and good conscience of the Judge and Councillors. Its decisions will be as objective as those of the regular civil and criminal courts. In these circumstances is it too much to expect that justice and peace will usually kiss ?

Compulsory arbitration is not the ideal solution of industrial disputes ; that has been made clear in the course of this article. The court which will apply it will be a human institution ; it will not, therefore, be perfect or infallible ; it certainly will not always give satisfaction to both parties. But at any rate it constitutes a more rational and a more Christian way of resolving differences than trial of strength by strike or lockout. We take a special pride in being a Catholic people guided by Catholic principles. Compulsory arbitration, of course, is not a distinctively Catholic principle ; but as an

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[1] Whilst the proof of this article was being corrected, a press cable from New Zealand announced that the House of Representatives had passed on May 12 the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration (Amendment) Bill, the principal provisions of which are :—

1. The restoration of compulsory arbitration in labour disputes.
2. The Arbitration Court shall fix the maximum weekly hours at 40, unless this is shown to be impracticable in a particular industry.
3. Membership of Unions shall be compulsory.
4. The Court shall fix a basic wage sufficient for an adult male worker with wife and three children.

instrument of industrial policy it is more Catholic than the strike or the lockout. We claim nothing more for it.

CORNELIUS LUCEY

Comments on the foregoing Article

No. 1.—By Archdeacon John Kelleher, P.P., V.F.

IT is refreshing to come across a clear, concrete and—as far as I am able to judge—a realisable proposal for dealing with what everyone acknowledges to be a grave hindrance to industrial peace and development as well as a perpetually recurring menace to social stability. It is most devoutly to be hoped that Dr. Lucey's well thought out suggestions will receive attentive consideration from employers and workers, from statesmen and the general public. All these are vitally interested in the problem he discusses, and it is only through their good-will and co-operation that his or any other practical solution can be made effective.

Conciliation, mediation, voluntary arbitration and compulsory investigation may help to mitigate the animosities of industrial strife, and in certain cases may even succeed in preserving or restoring peace between employers and workers; but in themselves they do not get close enough to the root of the trouble, and if no more radical remedy is forthcoming they will inevitably become more and more ineffective. The root trouble is industrial anarchy—*i.e.*, the principle of free competition between employer and worker. In every department of social life the law has to restrain and control individual liberty, as well in the interests of the individuals themselves as of organised society. Once this necessary restraint is secured, voluntary methods of arriving at agreements through mediation and arbitration will tend to be more availed of, because the temptation to the arbitrament of force will have been removed.

Dr. Lucey is to be congratulated on advocating the principle of compulsion so courageously in this connection. It is a healthy human instinct which makes us suspicious of interference with individual liberty, and long experience of legal oppression and injustice may have made that instinct hyper-sensitive with us in this country. Yet nothing could be commoner than the application of legal compulsion in this as in every other civilised country. We accept compulsion to pay debts and taxes, compulsion to observe fishery and game laws, compulsory insurance and compulsory registration. Compulsion may be carried too far, and no doubt it is in many departments to the

detriment of initiative and voluntary enterprise. But assuredly there is nothing wrong with the principle of compulsion. Like the law itself, compulsion should not be invoked without grave cause and adequate consideration of the evils and inconveniences it may entail. But, I consider, no one who does not object to the principle of compulsion, will deny that the evils of various orders inseparable from unrestricted free competition between employers and workers are sufficient to justify the adoption of legal compulsion, provided that both sides can have reasonable confidence that its application will be equitable and will not itself lead to equal or worse evils. Personally I am convinced that such a scheme of compulsory arbitration could be devised. Whether the scheme proposed by Dr. Lucey is the best that could be devised is beside the question. The actual scheme to be adopted must depend on the judgment of the responsible Government and its advisers. In the face of the evils actually arising from industrial conflicts carried to their present logical conclusion in strikes and lockouts, as well as of the more disquieting menaces which always underlie them, I do not see how any Government can fail to give the proposal serious consideration.

We may take it as perfectly certain that government action along the lines proposed by Dr. Lucey would provoke a volume of very vocal opposition. Provided, however, it was able to win the confidence of the responsible leaders amongst employers and workers, no great difficulty need be apprehended on that account. The real trouble would be to secure the confidence of both sides. Neither side would relish the idea of having to surrender the sovereignty it now enjoys in the sense of being free to maintain and fight to a finish for its own position. Their mentality is similar to that which prevails amongst nations on the question of war. The nations must be convinced of the folly and futility of war ; they cannot be unaware that war can never decide a question of right, since its issue will always be determined by force and intrigue. Yet they cannot bring themselves to forgo the right of appealing to war.

But while the underlying mentality may be the same, there is a great practical difference between industrial relations and international relations. The nations, I imagine, would be willing enough to submit their disputes to a superior tribunal, if a tribunal could be found which could be relied on to act with impartiality and effectiveness. Workers and employers have in the State a means of setting up such a tribunal. It is of importance to note that there is no suggestion that the Government should constitute itself a tribunal ; its part would be to set up and empower the tribunal, and with a reasonable amount of preliminary discussion there is no reason for fearing that a really impartial and efficient tribunal could not be devised.

If such action were taken, it should be made evident that the tribunal was strictly limited to the purpose of preventing strikes and lockouts. There should be no room for suspicion that it would interfere in any way with the other activities of employers and labour associations. Any attempt or tendency to stereotype the present industrial relations would be disastrous. It must be remembered that it was mainly through the activity of Trade Unions, using the weapon of the strike wherever it seemed called for and likely to prove serviceable, that workers have been able to advance from abject subjection to their present comparatively independent condition. It is asking a great deal of them, therefore, to require that this weapon should be discarded now while so many of their reasonable claims remain still unsatisfied.

Dr. Lucey adverts to the folly of trying to solve the problem of industrial peace by having both sides fully equipped for a struggle. But, of course, the position was incomparably worse when only one side was equipped, as everyone recognises who knows what the condition of labour was before the rise of Trade Unionism. To many, no doubt, the suggestion that compulsory arbitration should be adopted will appear like a step backwards towards that helpless position. If I seriously believed that there were grounds for such an anticipation, I should never say a word in favour of compulsory arbitration. But to my mind there are not. The weapon of the strike has served its purpose with manifest effect. But now it is well worth considering whether it may not have outgrown its serviceableness, whether it is not becoming more a hindrance than a help to the best interests of labour. It seems a tragedy that when labour has a case which appears unanswerable in equity and reason, it can do nothing better than put the issue to the doubtful arbitrament of force. It is only workers themselves and their families who can fully appreciate the strain involved in a prolonged strike. Trade Union officials are often sorely oppressed at the prospect of having a strike forced on them, and it is with heavy hearts that they accept the contest, having no other means of pressing the claims to which they consider the workers entitled. Worse still from their point of view, all the worry and privations are often in vain when a strike fails or succeeds only in winning a fraction of the advantages which any impartial tribunal would feel compelled to grant them. J. KELLEHER

No. 2.—By Professor Alfred O'Rahilly

DURING the last twenty years I have acted as arbitrator on numerous occasions. Since Dr. Lucey read his present article as a lecture in University College, Cork, I have had to act in this capacity in four cases. So naturally I have my views on the subject; and my views

are shared by all the representatives of Employers and Workers with whom I have discussed the matter. I am sorry that I disagree with the author; I am entirely opposed to compulsory arbitration. A comment is not a second article, so I must perforce be brief.

(1) I am not convinced that the system has been a success in other countries. I believe that its introduction here would be regarded by the vast majority of the workers as a piece of "fascism" and would actually increase the influence of those subversive elements whose activities Dr. Lucey deplores.

(2) Consideration of the plight of the unorganised rural workers seems to me to be quite irrelevant to the issue. The remedy for this is for the State to come to the rescue of these unfortunate workers, at present totally bereft of any collective bargaining power, much less of the capacity to strike.

(3) I see no analogy between the functions of the ordinary judicial courts and those of arbitration proceedings. In the former case we have a definite code with accepted principles of justice, which legal men can interpret and apply. Whereas, according to my extensive experience, the worst arbitrations are those in which lawyers intervene! There are no fixed accepted principles—for example, concerning fair rates of profit, the position of the employees in a business, the right and amount of a living wage, and so on—and the arbitrator cannot indulge in the exegetic activities of the legal mind. A broad humanity, wide experience of actual business relations, knowledge of the real difficulties and of the character of the men involved, the ability to secure a working compromise which is compatible with existing capitalism—to which I would like to add a good supply of pachydermatous tissue—these are some of the qualifications required in an arbitrator.

(4) Hence I would not anticipate much success from a system of compulsory arbitration administered either by bureaucrats or by lawyers. It would, in my opinion, merely increase the discontent of the workers, and often would irritate and shackle the employers. It is, I admit, deplorable that we have not more of the clergy and laity, competent and acceptable to both sides, who could and would intervene in industrial disputes. What we need is not to supersede voluntary arbitration—and the threat of compulsion would have this effect—but to increase the number of those willing and able to act as mediators and arbitrators.

(5) As to inter-Union disputes—the most difficult and bitter of all—the time has come to call upon organised Labour to provide a systematic remedy. As a matter of fact, the Trade Union Congress has just set up a special committee for this purpose.

(6) I admit that strikes are no more an ideal method of adjustment

than is war. If we had a guild structure in our economic life, in which the workers were recognised as human beings and not merely as "hands," in which they were regarded as co-functionaries with employers in producing for the community, then indeed there would be little reason for strikes. But, in my opinion, it would be unjust and disastrous to inject the element of compulsion into the present system (capitalism plus bureaucracy). It would be tantamount to taking away from the workers their last vestige of liberty—a spiritual loss in distinction from the material damages on which the author dwells—without having *first* guaranteed, protected and organised their natural rights. A Trade Union is certainly not an ideal organisation of society. But I am not prepared to support any diminution whatever of its powers until not only I but Trade Unionists themselves proclaim their conviction that they have secured something better.

ALFRED O'RAHILLY

No. 3.—By JOHN O'NEILL

Managing Director of John O'Neill Limited
President of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce

WHILST I agree with the Rev. Dr. Lucey as to the need of some definite machinery for the prevention of strikes and lockouts, I fear that the word "compulsion" is a very unhappy one to use to either Irish employers or Irish workers, as both would strain very unnecessarily at this word.

Notwithstanding the contrary examples, there has been a steadily growing tendency during recent years to form agreements, both as to conditions of labour and wages, in many of the organised industries. These agreements, for the most part, have been loyally kept by both sides, and are yearly increasing in number. The period of the agreement is generally twelve months, but I know of one instance where an agreement for a much longer period has been reached between the Trade Union concerned and the employers, both as to working hours, wages and general conditions. I am satisfied that this agreement will be loyally kept by both sides, and I look forward to at least some years of peace in this particular industry. This agreement was not reached during the heat of a strike, but in friendly discussions by both sides.

In the majority of cases these agreements have been brought about through the intervention of a State Department—namely, the Trade and Industries Branch of the Department of Industry and Commerce, whose principal function it is to establish conciliation machinery in the various industries. A tribute must be paid to the officials of this Department of the State for their patience, perseverance, tact and

ability. But, due to various causes, they only appear on the scene when disputes are actually on the horizon, and when a natural heat on both sides has already developed. Unfortunately, this is not quite the atmosphere for conciliation, and one should consider the possibility of establishing machinery to keep the atmosphere clear before the conciliation commences. To this end the word "compulsion" could not be quarrelled with by either side as, when necessary, compulsion is used to prevent the injuring of either public or private property. This being so, it does not seem too much to ask that a clearly defined act should be made law to prevent what undoubtedly must happen—that is, a law to prevent an employer from injuring the home and happiness of his worker by a lockout or an employee from injuring his employer's property by a strike, before all attempts at conciliation have failed.

In the case of what might be called the non-organised industries, there is also in operation, under the same section of the Department, a policy of co-operation and conciliation by a joint committee of representatives of the employees and employers working under the chairmanship of an independent Chairman. It is called a Trade Board, and its function is to arrive by *agreement* at minimum rates of wages and general working conditions in the industry concerned—as for instance, paper box-making, shirt-making, brush and broom manufacturing, and at least a dozen other trades.

On the whole, one must say that these Trade Boards perform very useful work.

If this keeping cool of passions and maintaining the ordinary relationships of employers and employed could be arrived at, the present machinery should prove a much more fitting and lasting instrument for the settlement of these disputes than any system of compulsory arbitration. Generally, I am of the opinion that it is a far more desirable policy to amend and improve, where necessary, a system—even a poor one—already in operation than to destroy it and make a fresh experiment.

JOHN O'NEILL

No. 4.—By Eamonn Lynch

Secretary of the Trade Union Congress

In his article "Strikes and Compulsory Arbitration" Dr. Lucey passes in review "conciliation, mediation, voluntary arbitration and compulsory investigation," but, apparently, he considers these inadequate—incapable of finally effecting a complete remedy. Hence his approval of "compulsory arbitration."

Our conception of "compulsory arbitration" is a compulsory arbitral mode of disposing of disputes which occur in industry—

principally in relation to wages, though not always so. Dr. Lucey defines "compulsory arbitration" well when he says: "It is a system wherein the Government compels all disputes in industry to be submitted to a special tribunal when the parties themselves have reached a deadlock. The judicial award of this tribunal is automatically binding on the management and men concerned, just like the judicial award of a Civil or Criminal Court. Strikes or lockouts are illegal; to organise or take part in one is, therefore, a punishable offence."

Dr. Lucey would also seem to impart to "compulsory arbitration" the function of acting as machinery for the enforcement of "a living wage"—a difficult thing to define, but presumably he means a minimum wage. "Compulsory arbitration" is not the most suitable machinery to fix "living," "family" or "minimum wages." Minimum wage-fixing machinery already exists for low-paid workers in industry under the Trade Board Acts 1909-1919, which legally fix and enforce minimum wages for those trades to which they apply. Similar legal minimum wage-fixing machinery is now contemplated for agriculture, where it existed during the period of the War under the Corn Production Act.

In regard, therefore, to the exploitation of low paid workers in industry, which Dr. Lucey fears, this exploitation may be prevented by the application of the Trade Board Acts, where no other wage-fixing machinery such as Trade Unions exists. The workers on the land will shortly be similarly safeguarded. Hence, the necessity for the adoption of that aspect of "compulsory arbitration" does not arise.

Approval of "compulsory arbitration," so admirably and correctly defined in the quotation above, should be most carefully weighed. The methods of "conciliation, mediation and voluntary arbitration" have been well employed in the past. While they have not prevented stoppages and preserved peace, they nevertheless have been responsible for averting a percentage of disputes, which might ultimately have been put to the arbitrament of the strike. To supplement them with "compulsory arbitration" may well mean to supplant them and "the cure might prove worse than the disease."

Legal fixation of wages has been known in the past, but has fallen into disuse during the last century and a half. Very early examples are to be found in mediaeval history of legislation in relation to the fixing of wages. As early as 1349 the "Ordinance of Labourers"—because of their scarcity, so many having died in the great Plague—ordained "that every man and woman of our realm shall be bound to serve and receive wages as in the twentieth year of our reign." Many other Acts and Ordinances followed, and by an Act of Richard II, 1389, wages were fixed by the "Justices" and not by reference to earlier wages. It was further provided that every man and woman,

bond or free, able in body and within the age of three score years, not having his own whereof he may live nor land about which he might occupy himself, and not serving any other, should be bound to serve the employer who should require him to do so; and servants were required to take the same wages that they were taking prior to the Plague in 1347.

The Statute of Labourers was superseded by the Statute of Apprentices 1662. This Act, besides fixing wages, also fixed hours of labour—twelve in the summer and during daylight in winter.

In 1738 the "Justices" in one county, by virtue of the Statute of Apprentices, fixed a scale of wages for the county. By 1766 fixing wages by Justices of the Peace had fallen entirely into disuse, and in 1813 a House of Commons Committee reported on the fixing of wages by Justices and the Statute of Apprentices was repealed.

The State, therefore, at that time did not consider the legal fixing of wages as being necessary.

The Industrial Courts Act, 1919, makes provision for "compulsory arbitration" with the consent of both parties. This Act is rarely invoked, though the principle underlying it is often adopted in practice to compose disputes. Many disputes are settled by arbitration, and acceptance by the parties of the award is a *sine qua non* of the submission of the issue to an arbitrator. This form of arbitration is extremely common.

The Conditions of Employment Act, passed a few months ago, sets up in Section 50 "A Wages Agreement Register." This Section provides for the registration, with the Minister for Industry and Commerce, of agreements ordinarily entered into between the employers and Trade Unions, provided the agreement is to be operative for at least twelve months: and it shall not be lawful for any employer to pay any worker or for any worker to accept any payment at a rate of salary, wages or other award less than the rate provided by the registered agreement.

By the operation of this Section all such registered agreements become legally enforcible, and if the workers' signatories are substantially representative of the trade to which the agreement relates, the agreement extends to all within the trade, notwithstanding the fact that a minority may not be members of the Trade Union which negotiates and registers the agreement.

Here, then, we have legislation which can be availed of by the worker to stabilise his wages position, and even those workers who may be reluctant to join their Trade Union will have their interests catered for nevertheless; for it is a punishable offence for the employer to pay less or the worker to take less than is provided in the registered agreement.

From the legislation referred to above it would seem there is ample legal machinery to protect the interests of the community. No less an authority than the Minister for Industry and Commerce seems to think the same, for speaking in the Dail on the 28th April 1936, he said: "I know many people consider it is practicable to make strikes illegal, and to institute some system of compulsory arbitration or establish some form of industrial tribunal. I have made some research in the matter, and I have not been able to find any case outside those States with a dictatorial form of Government . . . . . where such a system . . . . . proved workable. I do not think that, in present circumstances, it is possible to operate any system of compulsory arbitration in the Saorstát. It is much preferable that rates of wages in industry should be regulated by agreement between employers and representatives of the workers; and it has been the purpose of my Department to institute permanent conciliation machinery for different trades wherever and whenever possible."

Industrial unrest indicates undoubtedly that "something is rotten in the State of Denmark," and as we are dealing with the contract of service of a large number of people and as the contract of service is a very personal matter, any arbitrary interference with it may be productive of harmful results. Society is a living and growing organism, and it were better that it should find the paths of its development naturally. The people is the best judge of what is best for itself in its governing institutions, and it will the better find that by experience. "Conciliation," "Mediation" and "Voluntary Arbitration" as methods of securing industrial peace will be found sufficiently effective —and more natural to a state of society priding itself on its principles of democratic freedom. Compulsion has psychological and, hence, physical reactions and *festina lente* will be found a good motto to follow.

EAMONN LYNCH

No. 5.—By PETER McCARTHY

Chairman of O'Dea & Co. Limited

President of the Federation of Saorstát Industries

I HAVE been asked to comment on the Rev. Dr. Lucey's article on "Strikes and Compulsory Arbitration," and I would like to make it quite clear that I am expressing only my own views and not necessarily the views of the Federation of Saorstát Industries.

Anything that would tend to prevent the recurrence of industrial disputes would be welcomed by me and, I believe, by all employers. Before, however, discussing the question of Compulsory Arbitration, I would like to review the statements made as to the lack of machinery for settling trade disputes. I do not think it is correct to state that

no country is so devoid of machinery for the peaceful settlement of industrial troubles as our own. There is a statutory obligation on the Minister for Industry and Commerce to interfere in such disputes, and to my own knowledge a branch of his Department is constantly employed at work of this kind, and so far as I am aware there is no machinery in England which has not its counterpart here. Joint Conciliation Boards and Joint Industrial Councils have been set up by the Department of Industry and Commerce under the Conciliation Act of 1896, and these Boards cover such important industries in Dublin as the printing trade, the newspapers and the Dublin United Tramways Co., while there are national Councils for other important industries such as the Flour Milling Industry and the Bacon Curing Industry. There are several smaller Boards, and apart from the Boards there are a number of officials in the Department of Industry and Commerce who may be described as Conciliation Officials. Again, to my own knowledge, I can state that these officials are always willing to hold the scale as evenly as possible between disputing parties.

On Dr. Lucey's own figures it would appear that trade disputes in this country are less common than in the U.S.A. or in Great Britain. This is a point which I think is not generally appreciated, and it is an important one when we take into consideration the industrial revolution which has been taking place in this country for the last few years. It is a well-known fact that a protective policy almost invariably brings in its wake in the beginning a certain amount of industrial unrest, but I am confident that this unrest is of a passing nature.

Before examining the question of Compulsory Arbitration, I would like to point out that, so far as I am aware, voluntary arbitration does not imply that there is no obligation on either party to abide by the arbitrator's award. On the contrary, parties who agree to arbitration do so under signed agreement, and this agreement not only covers the terms of reference but binds the parties to acceptance of the award. Possibly this is being confused with Industrial Courts which the Minister may set up to inquire into a dispute against the wish of either or of both of the parties. The findings of such a court are not binding on the parties, but they are generally accepted.

I think that all employers would welcome Compulsory Arbitration, if they were satisfied that it was a solution of the difficulty and that it would obviate strikes and lockouts. I fear, however, that no matter what form legislation for Compulsory Arbitration might take, the findings could not be enforced on the workers. The employer then would be at a grave disadvantage. It is clear that he could be penalised for locking out his workers, but I am afraid that it is equally clear that the findings could not be enforced on the workers if they refused

to present themselves for work on the basis of such findings. Such information as I have tends to show that compulsory arbitration is not a success in other countries, and while I would welcome any suggestion that would prevent or tend to prevent trade disputes, and while I appreciate Dr. Lucey's efforts to find a solution, I am afraid that compulsory arbitration is not the solution.

PETER MCCARTHY

No. 6.—By BERNARD F. SHIELDS, M.A.

Professor of Commerce, University College, Dublin

ANY reader of Dr. Lucey's article on "Strikes and Compulsory Arbitration" must be impressed by his systematic analysis of the various methods of dealing with industrial differences and disputes and by the large amount of useful information which he has compiled and sifted on the subject.

The importance of industrial peace and of ensuring to those participating in industry—using the word industry in the broadest sense of the term—an equitable share of the national dividend should be endorsed in principle by everyone, except communists and syndicalists; but many people will differ as to the procedure in giving effect to these happy conclusions. In industry, as in other things, there is a constant struggle which cannot be entirely suppressed. Competition or a sense of rivalry between individuals cannot be eliminated under any political or industrial régime; so, when a conflict of interests occurs, the contestants should be imbued with such moral principles that they will, after adequate discussion of the points at issue, reach agreement without resorting to the methods of the jungle obtaining under our present system. If Irish trade unions adopted and put into practice the principles and rules of the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and if Irish employers accepted these conditions and followed the example of the Federation of Dutch Catholic Employers, who claim to base the regulations of their organisation and conduct on the Papal Encyclicals, the results of their deliberations would lead to a just settlement of differences and disputes and would leave no traces of dissatisfaction or bitterness, which often exist at present when decisions are imposed by those inside or outside the industry.

It is not my purpose, on account of the limits of space allowed a commentator, to follow Dr. Lucey in his examination of the various methods of adjusting industrial disputes, but merely to emphasise a few points not sufficiently stressed in his article, and then to devote some attention to the practical operation of the type of compulsory arbitration which he advocates—*viz.*, through State officials—by considering some of the principal arguments in its favour and the main

objections against it. As he wishes to be constructive, I, too, would like to make some brief counter-suggestions as to what may be considered the best procedure in preventing or curing this form of industrial *malaise*.

Since the establishment of the Saorstát, the official British tradition in connexion with differences and disputes has been adhered to—that is, that State intervention, through the Conciliation Act 1896 and the Industrial Courts Act 1919, should not be put into effect until the machinery of negotiation within the industry has been tried and failed, and that there should be a policy of non-compulsion in relation to industrial disputes. The Saorstát Minister for Industry and Commerce echoed this view when he declared in the Dáil on the 28 April 1936 : " I do not think, in the present circumstances, it is possible to operate any system of compulsory arbitration in the Saorstát." There are, however, other legalised compulsory methods of adjusting differences and of providing a legal sanction for decisions made. In Sweden, for instance, the parties to a dispute over the establishment of new conditions are bound to respond to the conciliator's summons, and voluntary arbitration is provided in the event of the failure of the conciliation proceedings ; while by an Act passed in 1928 the labour court, whose judgments are legally enforceable, is authorised to decide disputes concerning the validity, interpretation or breach of collective agreements—a procedure which could be advantageously put into effect in the Saorstát. Under the Canadian Disputes Investigation Act 1907, as amended by the 1925 Act, which is in operation in several Canadian Provinces, strikes and lockouts in mines and public utility undertakings cannot take place, until the questions at issue are investigated by a specially appointed board. In certain countries, such as Italy and some Australian states, collective agreements are legally binding ; whereas in Great Britain and Ireland they are regarded as purely " gentlemen's agreements." Under the Saorstát Conditions of Employment Act 1936 wages agreements, adopted by bodies substantially representative of the employers and employees in an industry and operative for at least one year, can be registered and enforced on all those engaged in the same class of industrial work within the area to which the agreement relates. In Italy differences are settled by legally recognised occupational associations and, in the event of their failure, by the labour courts. The provincial labour trustees in Germany are entrusted with the maintenance of industrial peace within their districts, and social honour courts are empowered to inflict penalties on those whose actions may lead to industrial disputes.

Compulsory Arbitration.—Considering the grave hardships that employees have to endure, the heavy losses incurred by business firms

in the course of a prolonged dispute, the disturbance to those engaged in dependent firms and industries, and the serious inconvenience to the public, it would seem reasonable that the powers of the Saorstát Department of Industry and Commerce to intervene in differences and disputes should be strengthened, and that some form of compulsion should be introduced unless an equally suitable or better way can be devised. It may well be argued that whenever an industrial conflict occurs, industry should not be weakened or paralysed; that it is difficult to induce both parties to agree to arbitration, as each is buoyed up with the expectation of success and sometimes incensed with the bitterness with which the dispute is conducted; that the employers and employees are of very unequal bargaining power and lasting strength, and so the battle for the survival of the stronger should not take place; and that the State, considering questions of industrial relations from a higher plane than that of individual interests, should have a properly organised procedure of compulsory arbitration before which the disputants should submit their claims. Further such a system prevailed in New Zealand from 1894 to 1932[1] and for many years in Australia.

Some opponents assert that the principle of compulsory arbitration is wrong, as it is an artificial interference with the natural laws of industry—an individualistic notion common one hundred years ago. These economic tendencies—not laws in the immutable sense—are capable of human direction, and social regulation and control of economic effort may at times be essential to maintain or improve social welfare. The extent of this control is too large a question for the present review. Trade unions will be deprived of the right to strike and employers of the right to lockout their employees by the introduction of compulsory arbitration; but there should be no reason for a strike or lockout, if alternative and less wasteful methods are available. Another objection is that, as there is no accepted body of doctrines to guide an arbitrator, his judgments must be founded on compromise; and that, as he attempts to legislate, his method of reaching his decisions has no analogy with that of a court of law, whose functions are to ascertain facts and apply to them well recognised legal principles. One would be inclined to agree if the purely economic viewpoint were adopted; but if the principles of social justice, as enunciated in the Papal Encyclicals, were accepted by both sides and acted upon by the arbitrator, this objection would fail. Probably the most potent arguments against compulsory arbitration, as suggested by Dr. Lucey, are that it encourages the contentious spirit in industry, that one or both parties will regard the prior proceedings of conciliation

[1] The New Zealand House of Representatives passed on 12th May 1936 the Industrial Conciliation and Arbitration (Amendment) Bill, with a view to restoring compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes.

as a nominal procedure and will always resort to arbitration, even on trivial matters, to see what possible gain they can secure—instead of directing their attention to increasing production, from which the distribution of wages and profits must be made. Further, wages being a price, the many conditions of the work to be done will have to be determined, with the result that industry will in course of time be almost strangled, as in New Zealand, with minute regulations: methods of production will become stereotyped and experiments and changes in organisation will be impeded.

Alternative Suggestions.—It is impossible to put forward a scheme of adjusting disputes which cannot be found faulty, even by its author. The problem involved is partly a moral, partly a psychological, and partly an economic one. The moral basis has been already referred to. A better spirit of co-operation and mutual understanding will be generated through an industry, if employers and employees, in their representative capacities, have opportunities of meeting regularly in establishment committees, in regional and national councils to discuss matters of mutual interest. These national councils should have a recognised industrial status, and be regarded by the Government as consultative bodies in connexion with their respective industries, as in Belgium, Holland and Roumania, where they give advice on prospective and actual labour legislation. Negotiation machinery could be set up by each national council to deal with differences arising within the industry; for instance, those affecting an individual firm or firms would be considered by the establishment committees concerned and, in the event of failure, would be referred to the regional or national council, which would deal with differences throughout a whole industry. Should the latter be unsuccessful, a preappointed chairman should be invited to act as a conciliator in the first instance and finally as an arbitrator, it being already agreed that no strike or lockout should take place or alteration be made in the conditions of employment pending his final decision. In the event of non-acceptance of the arbitrator's award, he should report the facts and his decision to the Minister for Industry and Commerce, who should be empowered to use compulsory arbitration if considered advisable. Further, the Minister should have authority to extend the provisions relating to the constitution and powers of the Trade Board Acts, with his own nominee as chairman, not only for the determination of minimum wages but also for the adjustment of disputes in an industry unable or unwilling to establish a national council with appropriate negotiation machinery within a definite period.

B. F. Shields

THE PROBLEM OF THE SENATE

BY REV. DENIS O'KEEFFE, M.A.
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IT is obvious that any adequate discussion of the present constitutional problem must attempt to answer two questions: whether a Second Chamber is desirable and how it is to be constituted. It is unfortunate that the first problem has to be faced. This is due to a series of political accidents. If the Constitution had been originally drawn up by the Fianna Fáil party, there can be no serious doubt that it would have included a Second Chamber of some kind. Their political philosophy differs in no essential matter from that of their opponents. There are, of course, most important differences in practical politics, but it is improbable that these differences extend to the mere theoretical problems of the structure of the Constitution itself. When the party came into power, it found itself confronted with a hostile Senate. This, however, is a very usual state of affairs. On a change of government it happens in most modern democratic countries. It happens practically always in Canada, very frequently in the United States and in England, occasionally in France. Obviously it is always a possibility when the "life" of the Second Chamber differs from that of the First. In most of these cases, although not always, the hostility gradually adjusts itself. The Free State Executive, finding that its contentious legislation was unduly hampered, decided apparently either to modify or to abolish the Second Chamber.

Unfortunately all this brought about a general discussion, in a very unfavourable atmosphere, of the advantages and disadvantages of Second Chambers in democratic Constitutions. Discussion is an admirable thing, but it tends both to create and to intensify differences of opinion. It is apt also to be unsatisfactory when disputants first make up their minds by a kind of emotional instinct and then set out on the search for

arguments to justify convictions arrived at on other grounds. This is what seems to have happened in the present case. The arguments against Second Chambers are good, bad and indifferent; but they are to be found—in their English form—almost exclusively in the writings of political theorists who lean towards the Left. The result was not surprising. The party started off without any very definite convictions on the general problem. They disliked this particular Second Chamber with which they were confronted. When the debate was over, the very process of reconstructing the arguments and making them their own had produced a kind of conviction. The case *against* Second Chambers turned out to be surprisingly convincing. The case *for* Second Chambers—as presented by their opponents—had all the weaknesses which their opponents' arguments usually had. In the result the party found itself—to its own astonishment—if not bound to at least tending towards the theory of a single-chambered legislature.

The problem as it now stands seems to be that one party is definitely in favour of a Second Chamber, while the other, if not quite definitely opposed to it, is unconvinced of its necessity. The Irish Free State Constitution was born under unfavourable auspices. A Constitution should, if possible, be a matter of general agreement, should represent the confluent wisdom of various types of opinion, the embodied spirit of a nation, its ethos, and all other good and agreeable influences. It is essentially not a matter for party discussion. If differences of opinion are unavoidable, in this sphere they should be minimised, since to draw up a workable Constitution is the most difficult thing in the world. Constitutions artificially constructed have seldom survived. We see them disappearing round about us with amazing celerity. The most successful instance in all history of a Constitution thus artificially produced is the Constitution of the United States. The framers of this Constitution were democrats with a lively sense of the dangers of democracy and of its instability. They endeavoured to devise a complicated system which would so distribute power that the danger of its abuse would be reduced to a minimum. The Constitution in its working has turned out

to be something very different from what they intended. Yet it has one sovereign virtue: it has worked. It has stood the test of time and at no stage of its history has it shown any tendency to degenerate into tyranny. Much of its success is due to the fact that it is the only system in which the Second Chamber is actually more powerful than the First.

I think that it is a great pity that we did not decide, definitely and unmistakably, either for a "rigid" or for a "fluid" Constitution. We could have made our Constitution unchangeable, like the Constitution of the United States, except by a special process like a two-thirds majority. Or we could have followed rather the British model and made it modifiable by ordinary Act of Parliament. As it was, the Constitution made a pretence of being "rigid," but turned out to be in reality "fluid." A very elaborate Constitution was drawn up. This had to be done, in the circumstances, by a body of persons with no experience of the actual working of institutions. This Constitution showed a wonderful trust in the political capacity of the people, for the guiding idea seemed to be to introduce every conceivable device that had ever been tried anywhere. It was, I fancy, much too complicated. Unavoidably, too, it had no roots, no place in the reverence or affection of the people. No one was greatly concerned if its provisions were changed or its structure altered. Still, such as it was, it was a pity that it was not allowed to function. The Executive, whenever it found the Constitution inconvenient, proceeded to change it under one of its own articles which allowed modification by ordinary parliamentary process for eight years. It finally extended, under the article itself, the period of such alteration to sixteen years. For all practical purposes, therefore, the Irish Free State has no "fundamental law," and it would have been much better not to have set up a mere simulacrum, a type of institution which has brought discredit upon the whole idea of a Constitution and upon the Executives which have spent their time in evading it.

It is a great source of strength in the British system that

each party carries out its legislative programme with the definite knowledge that the laws it passes will be administered by the opposing party. This prevents extreme measures and brings about a spirit of compromise. No party thinks of itself as a perpetual depositary of power. In constitutional matters change is slow. The problem of the Second Chamber has been a matter of controversy for more than a hundred years. And it has actually happened in recent times that a party in power in the House of Commons has found itself with no representation whatever in the House of Lords. A small representation had to be artificially created and the government of the country was carried on.

The House of Lords, it may be said, is an anomaly and an absurdity. And so in a sense is any Second Chamber. But First Chambers, as it happens, are equally absurd, and the principle of democracy itself, according to M. Maritain in one of his rare lapses into philosophical impatience, is "une absurdité sanglante." That political wisdom will somehow emerge from counting heads is difficult to believe. On problems that are either novel or difficult a majority is almost certain to be wrong. First Chambers are no more defensible in sheer logic than Second Chambers. Admiration for them is not likely to survive any direct acquaintance with their personnel. The wag was wiser than he knew who suggested that the reason why members of the House of Commons wear their hats in the House is lest visitors to the galleries should see their heads. In our time representative democracy is no longer taken for granted. The optimistic trust of the nineteenth century in representative institutions has faded in the light of experience. Efficiency seems more valuable than freedom. And so we have the familiar pronouncements against legislatures by Mussolini, Hitler and even Lenin.

And yet many will still believe that democracy has an inherent value for any people who can work it, that there are other and more refined considerations which are overlooked in these philosophies. First Chambers are often corrupt and always miserably inefficient. Great democratic leaders with a mandate from the people may be able to dispense with them.

But great democratic leaders like Cromwell or Napoleon or Mussolini or Hitler are only desirable at a distance, whether in space or time.

It would be tedious to go into the arguments for and against a Second Chamber. Anyone who is interested in seeing how badly these arguments can be stated may consult the official records. I have mislaid my copy. The beginning and the end of wisdom in this matter is to realise at once that no perfect or even moderately satisfactory Second Chamber can be devised. And the second principle is that almost any kind of Second Chamber, *in so far as it secures delay*, is better than none at all. In ultimate analysis the Senate in the Irish Free State had only one function—a function of delaying legislation. Mr. Lees-Smith, in his book on *Second Chambers in Theory and Practice*, raises the question " Whether with such limited functions a much less laborious process of selecting the Senate would not have been preferable." He is referring to the original method of electing the Senate by the whole country as a single constituency. This is a most interesting criticism, because it seems clear that the Fianna Fáil Executive considered themselves greatly embarrassed by these " limited functions " ; and yet this is the absolute minimum of power, if we are to have a Second Chamber at all.

The whole point of multiplying mechanisms in a democracy is to guarantee liberty and to enable democracy to survive. It is a commonplace of political theory and history since Aristotle that democracies are short-lived. Only by a distribution and a balance of power have they any chance of survival.

" With a perfect Lower House it is certain that an Upper House would be scarcely of any value. If we had an ideal House of Commons perfectly representing the nation, always moderate, never passionate, abounding in men of leisure, never omitting the slow and steady forms necessary for good consideration, it is certain that we should not need a higher chamber. The work would be done so well that we should not want any one to look over or revise it. And whatever is unnecessary in government is pernicious."

No *a priori* argument for a Second Chamber is coercive. Here what is impressive is the experience of history and the example of all democratic countries of importance. The Abbé Siéyès was a man of great intellectual resource, but I can never think his famous dilemma against Second Chambers as one of his more brilliant efforts. The opposing dilemma is equally convincing. If a Second Chamber agrees with the first, it is an added guarantee of wisdom; if it disagrees, it certainly establishes a case for reconsideration. It is in politics as in business. There is no perfect method. One has constantly to be satisfied with the second best. A bank cannot function on the single principle of the general honesty of mankind. It is vital that large transactions should pass through a number of hands. Most men are honest, but we must provide for occasional dishonesty. There is no complete guarantee against it; we do what we can. And so with any assembly of men. It will often function satisfactorily. Yet all human experience goes to show that, under the stress of sudden emotion or party spirit or personal and sectional interests, it will perpetrate injustice. Reconsideration by a Second Chamber is not a perfect remedy; it may often be no remedy at all. But from the time of the Greek republics to our own time experience shows that anything which delays hasty legislation is in so far valuable. It is easy to understand that a party, aware of its own good intentions, keenly alive to what it can do to benefit the country, should be impatient when its best efforts are hampered. Nothing is more dangerous either in morals or politics than a "mens conscia sibi recti." For in politics short views bring long troubles. In a representative democracy, presumably, the same party will not always be in power. It will be succeeded, such is human nature, by parties less estimable and honest than itself. And in the long run and under such conditions unicameral government makes it extraordinarily difficult for a democratic system to survive.

If then a Second Chamber is useful or necessary, what kind of Second Chamber are we to have? The whole field of political choice—apart from the Senate we have just

discarded—is before us, and many experts are eager to assist us in the pleasant task of selection. It is difficult, however, to make any useful selection, as it were *in vacuo*. The type of Second House we select will be determined by the work we wish it to do; structure will depend upon function. Strong Senates must be elected; weak Senates can be got in a variety of ways. I should prefer here to raise a preliminary question, suggested by the actual political situation in which we find ourselves. Since a Second Chamber, if we are to have one, must now (as it would seem) be brought forward as a party measure, what may we hope for? There are three possibilities. A political party may propose a Senate favourable to itself; it may propose a Senate of an alternating type, now favourable to one party now to the other; or finally it may propose a detached Second Chamber, consisting of persons (if such can be discovered) who will consider measures on their merits and apart from mere considerations of party advantage.

The first method is by far the most probable and also obviously the worst. It is not that party politicians are worse than other people, but that they are no better. It is inevitable that a party will identify its own interests with the good of the country. Philosophical detachment may be a virtue; it is not a quality that makes for success in party politics. Very naturally a political party will think that the future of the country depends upon its tenure—even upon its permanent tenure—of office. It would be too much to expect that it would set up a Second Chamber permanently unfriendly to itself. On the other hand if it decides to set up a Second Chamber of a permanently friendly type, it is probable that it will endeavour so to disguise or camouflage it that its character will not be obvious. How such a Chamber is to be got, whether by nomination or election, or in whatever way, is not of much importance. The essence of the matter is that it lies within the control of the party leaders of one individual party. Such a Second Chamber, although manifestly imperfect, would not be useless. The House of Lords in England has been a Second Chamber of this type for many years. It was not always so. Its powers have been greatly curtailed by the Parliament Act,

but no considerable section of opinion seems to be in favour of abolishing it altogether, and the plans for its reform are surprisingly moderate. The French Senate, although it is not at all a party body, is definitely more conservative than the Chamber. It is indirectly elected by local bodies and of course follows the political changes of the times. It has on some matters—*e.g.*, on the question of female suffrage—definitely resisted the Chamber of Deputies. It is not, perhaps, a very brilliant success, but again few desire to abolish it. In fact it is often thought a virtue in a Second Chamber to lean a little to the right. This, however, opens up too wide a field for discussion.

Second Chambers of the alternating type exist in most modern democratic countries. The fact that the tenure of office of members of the Second Chamber differs from that of the First and that, as a rule, the elections for the Chambers take place at different times secure this result automatically. Some *nominated* Senates, as the Canadian, are also of this type. The Senate of the Irish Free State in its final form was an alternating Senate. With a Second Chamber of this type, a party coming into power always finds itself confronted with a hostile Senate, if its predecessor has held power for any length of time. There is nothing fortuitous in this. It is in fact intentional, just as the Senate of the United States was specially designed to act as a break upon the Executive. It is absurd to complain that a Second Chamber of this type will for a time hamper the Executive. It is meant to do so, and will in any case hamper each Executive in turn. In practice it is only likely to interfere with contentious legislation, and most contentious legislation (in countries outside our own) is bad or mistaken. Frequently it has in the last resort only a power of delay, and delay is an excellent thing when differences of party opinion cut deep. Sometimes, however, as in the United States, the Second House has powers equal to the First. It claims to delay, revise and reject any legislation whatever. If you define democracy in a certain way, then this system is not democracy. This difficulty is perennial, and it seems worth making certain sacrifices to secure stability.

The Senate of the Irish Free State was designed on the alternating model, and it resembled closely a suggestion made by the so-called "Bryce Conference" for England. The ultimate suggestion came from the Norwegian system, although greatly modified. If parties were evenly balanced in the Dáil, the Senate would swing over rather rapidly to the dominant party when it came into power. That it did not do so recently was due to a number of exceptional circumstances: the fact that part of the first nominated Senate still survived, that the Fianna Fáil party was not in the Dáil for the first elections, and so forth. It is curious that the Executive should decide to abolish the Senate just at the precise time when it was definitely coming under its control. This would seem to point either to a hostility to the whole idea of a Second Chamber or to the fact that the Executive would prefer a Second Chamber of a different type. It is difficult to believe that the Executive expressly desires a Second Chamber permanently favourable to one party. But if an alternating Senate is to be set up with the very limited powers of the late Senate, what improvements are feasible? No doubt the Senate had many defects. It was definitely tending to become—what it was not in the beginning—an exact replica of the Dáil. It did some very useful work, but it readily passed some of the worst legislation of both parties—like pension bills. The real case against it is not that it was too strong, but that it was too weak. In any case this type of Senate is now definitely excluded, and if we are to have an alternating Senate, it must be got either by nomination or by direct or indirect election by the people. Direct election by the people has already been tried, although in a quite absurd form. It would not, I think, be worth while introducing it again in any form unless it is decided—which is highly improbable—to increase the powers of the Second Chamber. This means that we are confined either to nomination or to indirect election or to a combination of both. I find that most people seem to think that nomination by the Executive would be hopeless in Ireland on account of the vehemence of party spirit. I should not myself be so pessimistic. Beneath

all this apparent party spirit there is sufficient patriotism and a sufficient spirit of justice; and both, it may be hoped, will increase. Nomination by a small committee of independent and reputable persons is attractive, if such persons could be induced to undertake the responsibility. If the Senate has merely a delaying power, the departure from democratic principle would not be serious, and in any case some departure is inevitable if we are to have any Second Chamber at all.

And this brings me to the third possibility—a Second House composed of detached and independent members, the kind of "senatorial persons" whom the Constitution itself presupposes. It is often urged that there are two criteria of a good Second Chamber—first that it should not be a replica of the First but should introduce some new quality of experience, and secondly that it should include, if possible, some or many persons of ability and eminence. Now no system of election will secure these two results. Persons of eminence will not, as a rule, submit to election. They can be got, presumably, by nomination or by some such system of indirect selection as that described in the last number of STUDIES by Professor Binchy. The objection to this system is that it may introduce politics into professional and other bodies from which politics is best excluded. It would be difficult to say whether such a sacrifice is worth making for the general good of the country, if it could be so promoted.

Finally it may be worth while raising the question how far a Second Chamber may help to secure us against the special dangers that confront all democracies in modern times. These dangers are of three types. Owing to the vast increase everywhere—even in England—in the powers of the Executive, there is, first, the danger of passing over into some form of autocracy. This change has occurred in several countries, and it is not my purpose here to criticise it adversely. I merely state that it is a danger to democracy. Again, the same growth of Executive power is a menace to individual and civic freedom. The power of the Executive relatively to the Legislature has grown steadily for the past fifty years. The idea, common still in the nineteenth century, that the best

government was that which governed least has been superseded by the idea that countries can be made prosperous and even happy merely by passing certain laws. Both ideas are erroneous; but the second is, if anything, more mischievous than the first. And finally, there is the danger of political corruption, the use by the party in power of the resources of the State to maintain its own prestige by pensioning its followers and by similar devices. This is not new, but has become more widespread and subtle. Obviously no Second Chamber can afford security against a *coup d' état.* But a very strong Senate, like that of the United States, can prevent the development of autocracy within the legal framework of the Constitution. No President of the United States could legally develop into an autocrat if the Senate were hostile. Single Chamber government, particularly of the Cabinet type, makes the development of autocracy comparatively simple, particularly among peoples who either do not value freedom greatly or have had little experience in the working of free institutions. A Second Chamber affords some additional guarantee of individual liberty. Apart from other considerations it protects the judicial system against the encroachments of the Executive. Against a determined Executive it might not accomplish much, but any additional guarantee is valuable. A Senate of a detached type would be critical of corrupt party legislation. It cannot be too much emphasised that a Second Chamber is designed to meet difficulties and defects that are inherent in all forms of democracy. This explains why advanced democratic countries like Australia are willing to submit to a property qualification in the election of their Senates. In politics we must take long views, and there is no reason here for undue pessimism. Considering the enormous difficulties of launching a new government, we have not done badly. Amidst so much torrential legislation it is inevitable that there should be some froth and foam. Perhaps in matters of such complexity not to fail is to succeed.

D. O'Keeffe

THE CONVERSION OF BOCCACCIO AND CHAUCER[1]

BY REV. HERBERT THURSTON, S.J.

IN the recently published May volume of the revised edition of Butler's *Lives of the Saints*[2] a short notice is included of the Carthusian, Blessed Peter Petroni, who died in 1361. He belonged to a distinguished family of Siena and when he was three years old a famous relative of his, Cardinal Richard Petroni, left money to found a new Charterhouse at Maggiano, an estate close to the city. The boy Peter, whose piety was remarkable from early years, conceived an earnest desire to become a monk there, and in spite of the opposition of his family he managed to obtain admission as a novice at the early age of seventeen. When, however, in due course, he being now a deacon, the question arose of his ordination to the priesthood, we are told he was so overwhelmed by the sense of his own unworthiness and with dread of the responsibilities which might be thrust upon him as a priest that to incapacitate himself from receiving the higher order he chopped off the index finger of his left hand—an example says his biographer, not to be imitated, but an act which apparently God pardoned in view of the motive which prompted it. Anyway Peter lived on as a simple deacon, being gifted, it seems, with a marvellous discernment in all spiritual matters; for which reason crowds of people in trouble came from far and near to consult him. Amongst these visitors was Blessed John Colombini, the founder of the Jesuati, who became his devoted disciple and eventually his biographer.

The good Carthusian deacon was always held in high veneration for his strange knowledge of hidden things, but a

[1] The substance of a lecture recently delivered in London at a meeting of the Lingard Society.

[2] Alban Butler, *Lives of the Saints* vol. v. Revised and supplemented by Herbert Thurston and Miss Norah Leeson (Burns and Oates, 1936).

few days before his death, which occurred on May 29, 1361, he is said to have been specially inspired to send a message of solemn warning to some of his famous contemporaries. Unfortunately our one ultimate authority, John Colombini is a very unsatisfactory historian. He is confused and verbose in a way which seems designed to disguise the vagueness of his memory and his lack of exact information. But we do learn that Blessed Peter called to his bedside a devoted friend, one Joachim,[1] a Sienese gentleman, and entrusted him with a mission. He was to go to various people in Italy, amongst others to the dissolute Queen Joanna at Naples,[2] then to the Pope (Innocent VI) at Avignon, then to John, King of France, and to Edward III in England, with the object, in this last case, of bringing about a more peaceful settlement between these two northern countries. We do not know how much of this programme Joachim was able to carry out, or what eventually became of him. It is however quite certain that, in accordance with the instructions he had received, he visited Boccaccio at Certaldo, near Florence, and delivered Blessed Peter's warning, the main purport of which seems to have been that the poet had not long to live if he persisted in the evil work of corrupting the minds of men by his lascivious writings. Further, John Colombini informs us that to authenticate the message Blessed Peter had imparted to his envoy certain incidents of Boccaccio's previous life which he had learnt by divine revelation, but which were secret from all the world. This threat of God's speedy judgment, confirmed as it was by the disclosure of his past sins, seems to have had a shattering effect upon the Florentine poet; and in this instance, it is to be noticed, we are not left to vague surmises. Boccaccio wrote in terrible distress of mind to his friend Petrarch, announcing his intention to withdraw from all literary work and to dispose of his precious collection of books. His letter unfortunately has not been preserved,

[1] There seems reason to believe that his name was Joachim Ciano; but, as the Bollandists long ago pointed out, we have not sufficient evidence to speak positively.

[2] Boccaccio was intimate with Niccolò Acciaiuoli, Joanna's Grand Seneschal, who was also her paramour. The poet must unquestionably have known her himself, and he praises her extravagantly in his *De Claris Mulieribus*, written most probably in this very year, 1361. There were rumours also that he had been her lover.

but we possess the text of Petrarch's lengthy reply. From it we learn that Petrarch himself was also amongst those to whom a message had been sent by the dying Carthusian.

> You say [writes Petrarch] that a certain Peter, a native of Siena, noted for his piety and for the miracles which he performed, has recently died; that on his death-bed, among many predictions relating to various persons, he had something to say to both of us, and that moreover he sent a messenger to you to communicate his last words. . . Heaven ordained, it seems, that he should see Christ our Lord in person, and thus know that his petition had been heard and granted. And in Christ's face it was conceded to him to read the things that have been and the things that are to come. . . .
>
> It is certainly a most astounding thing, this seeing Christ with mortal eyes, if only it be true. For it is an old and much-used device to drape one's own lying inventions with the veil of religion and sanctity in order to give the appearance of divine sanction to a human fraud. But I cannot pronounce upon this case at present, nor until the messenger of the deceased presents himself to me in person. For you tell me that he visited you first because you were nearest; and having delivered his message, departed for Naples, intending to go by sea to France and England, and lastly to visit me and impart such of his instructions as related to my case.

Petrarch throughout a very long letter, which occupies many printed pages, shows himself very sceptical regarding the supernatural origin of the warning which his friend had received, but he clearly recognised that Boccaccio had somehow been persuaded that the messenger was trustworthy. He protests strongly against the idea that the younger scholar should give up his interest in literary pursuits and sell his library. He would be willing to take charge of the books, but only as a deposit which their owner could claim again the moment he was of another way of thinking. He urges that the study of classical learning was of great profit "for the fuller understanding of natural science and for the defence of our religion," and that the poet at his age—he was then 51—was in a very different position from a young man without experience who might be swept away by the glamour of the new learning and be betrayed by the hot blood which pulsed within his veins.

Boccaccio might easily have taken this letter to mean that

it would be wise to pay no attention at all to the warning which had been imparted to him. No doubt he did follow Petrarch's counsel to this extent that he did not part with his library or turn his back altogether upon literary pursuits, but the very pronounced change which he made in the subject and tone of his writings seems to me to constitute a strong presumption that he had been told something by Joachim which convinced him that Blessed Peter had in truth been supernaturally inspired to warn him of his danger.

In a recent *Life of Giovanni Boccaccio,* Mr. T. C. Chubb admits that Petrarch's letter " did not stand in the way of something like a complete change of feeling." His new religiousness, we are further told—

> made him look on his Italian writings with horror; they might have brought him to damnation. He would keep on writing . . . but only what was serious in tone and elevated in purpose. There would be no glittering poems, ornate romances or light-hearted tales gathered together for the diversion of fair ladies. . . He never swerved from this intention. Various important items came from his study in his thirteen remaining years, but they all lay in the realm of scholarship and learning. Not a single piece of creative or imaginative writing was the product of his industrious pen.[1]

Nevertheless none of Boccaccio's modern biographers seem willing to admit that Joachim's alleged message can have been anything but a trick. Mr. Chubb, for example, whom I have just quoted, declares that the poet " fell a victim to the persuasions of a friar whose devices must have been fully as crude and transparent as those of the Fra Cipolla whom he had satirized." Incidentally Joachim was not a Carthusian monk, still less a friar. Mr. Edward Hutton (who makes the same mistake regarding Joachim)—he was writing in the days before he was himself received into the Catholic Church—protested even more violently. " But we may well ask ourselves," he says, " what had brought Boccaccio to such a pass that he was at the mercy of such infernal humbugs and liars as the Blessed Pietro and his rascal friend." And he goes on to deplore that " the first enemy of monks and friars

[1] T. C. Chubb, *Life of Giovanni Boccaccio* (1930), p. 206.

and all their blackguardism should have fallen so easily into their hands." [1]

It may be far from certain that Peter had received any divine illumination in the matter—the opinion is gaining ground that there is such a thing as natural clairvoyance—but the austerity of the Carthusian Order and the testimony of such a man as Blessed John Colombini forbid us to believe that deliberate trickery had been resorted to. No good Catholic who reflects on the harm done to young people by books which present debauchery in an extremely attractive garb can fail to be glad that Boccaccio's talents were diverted from producing further seductive literature in the vulgar speech. In our own days the standard set by such modern fiction as that of James Joyce and D. H. Lawrence makes Boccaccio seem almost decent by comparison. But Mr. A. Tilley in the *Cambridge Medieval History*,[2] after paying tribute to the Florentine's brilliant gifts, goes on :—

> There is, however, a reverse side to the medal. The *Decameron* is frankly immoral, and that not so much because the author relates the doings of villainous monks and amorous women with evident relish, as because he is an avowed apologist for free love and adultery. As a picture of Florentine society it would be unfair to take it too seriously ; rather it represents the experience of a man who, having been separated at an early age from his unwedded and deserted mother —a Frenchwoman of good family—had grown up without any home influence and had spent his youth in the dissolute Court of Naples. His own relations with women account for the irony and cynicism which underlie the seemingly naïve directness of his narration.

It should be added that the drift and moral tone of Boccaccio's earlier poems in the vernacular is precisely similar. Mr. Chubb, who is not an early Victorian, but writes with full knowledge of American and post-war standards of propriety or impropriety, tells his readers that in the *Filostrato* the poet " describes the first and then the subsequent amorous encounters of the lovers. He minces no words, but dwells lovingly and sensuously on each detail." So again with regard to the *Ameto* he remarks : " It must be confessed that

[1] E. Hutton, *Giovanni Boccaccio* (1910), p. 201.
[2] Vol. vii (1932), p. 756.

although in conception and intention the *Ameto* is highly moral and religious, actually it is just the opposite." And he goes on to point out that of the nymphs described, who were actual Florentine ladies, " each one had loved greatly and each one's great love was both illicit and unchaste. Six of them were married, and therefore to love greatly were obliged to betray their husbands."[1] Yet these nymphs are represented as personifying the virtues. Similarly Mr. Hutton, in reference to Boccaccio's pretence of showing in his *Ameto* that a man, however rude and savage, can find God only by means of the seven virtues which are the foundation of all morals, remarks that the poet " has indeed chosen strange means of carrying it out. The stories of the seven nymphs are extremely licentious, and all confess that they do not love their husbands and are seeking to make the shepherds fall in love with them." [2]

It was the attempt to cloak a pornographic purpose in the garb of virtue or as merely a satire of current evils which was the plague-spot of the dawn of the Renaissance. This type of literature, with its affectation of " Courts of Love," its pretence of high chivalry and a respect for moral justice, was really based on a most ignoble hypocrisy which turned a deaf ear to the voice of conscience. Boccaccio, Chaucer and their emulators knew quite well that they were at heart insincere, that a good deal of what they wrote, by proclaiming the divinity of the goddess Venus and by satirising with grievous exaggeration the moral transgressions and the cupidity of the clergy, was doing the devil's work. The difference between these writers and the more salacious of the poets and novelists of our day is that such men as Boccaccio and Chaucer had the grace in the end to admit that they had acted in bad faith, and to express their heart-felt sorrow for the scandal which they had given. Our modern pornographers and anti-clericals never own up.

One of the most amusing rogues in the *Decameron* is Fra Cipolla (Brother Onion), who like Chaucer's Pardoner had

[1] Chubb, *The Life of Giovanni Boccaccio* (1930), pp. 79 and 109.
[2] Edward Hutton, *Giovanni Boccaccio* (1910), p. 86.

amazing relics to show, in particular a feather from the wing of the Archangel Gabriel which he had left behind at Nazareth when he came to salute our Blessed Lady, and a finger of the Holy Ghost, *cosí intero e saldo come fu mai*—as who should say, "as good as new." But in spite of this satire, which unfortunately has only too much justification in the relic inventories of the Middle Ages, it is manifest from Boccaccio's will that he himself by no means despised relics. He in fact bequeathed to the monastery of Santa Maria of the Holy Sepulchre "the holy relics which during a great space of time and with much labour he had taken pains to acquire (*procuravit habere*) from different parts of the world." [1]

Two of Boccaccio's earlier poems in the vernacular, the *Filostrato* and the *Teseide*, are of special interest in view of Chaucer's use of them in writing *Troilus and Criseyde*, the most important of his completed works, and *The Knight's Tale* in the Canterbury series. There has been a certain amount of controversy regarding the English writer's knowledge of the text of Boccaccio, but most authorities—including Skeat, George Saintsbury, A. W. Pollard, and J. M. Manly—do not dispute the fact of Chaucer's full indebtedness to this source, though he treated the material with great freedom. An American student who has written a monograph on this point, remarks :—

> The English poet's indebtedness to Boccaccio, not wholly an unacknowledged one and not wholly a conscious one, is yet a very great one. The fairest of the gardens and the temples in his tapestry, the most beautiful of his ladies, the most chivalrous of his knights, the most pathetic of his youthful characters and the most human of his middle-aged ones, come, many of them, from Boccaccio. And from Boccaccio they bring the breath of old romance.[2]

Mr. Cummins might have added that they also bring something of that confusion of religion with the cult of sensuality, disguised, though it was, under seemly poetic names, in which the Italian sinned most grievously. But here again we find that the English poet, like his Italian precursor,

[1] Hauvette, *Vie de Boccace* (1914), p. 463; Hutton, *Boccaccio*, p. 352.

[2] H. M. Cummins, *The Indebtedness of Chaucer's Works to Boccaccio* (Wisconsin, 1916), p. 198.

did not in the depth of his heart confuse right and wrong, and we have that final retraction at the end of "The Parson's Tale," which the reader will, I trust, forgive me, familiar though it may be, for citing entire in a somewhat modernised form :—

Now pray I to them all that harken to this little treatise or rede (sermon) that if there be anything in it that liketh them, that thereof they thanken our Lord Jesu Christ of whom proceedeth all wit and all goodness. And if there be anything that displeaseth them I pray them also that they arrette it (put it down to) the default of my unconning (ignorance) and not to my will that would full fain have said better if I had had cunning (wisdom). For our Book saith all that is written is written for our doctrine, and that is myn intent. Wherefore I beseech you meekly for the mercy of God that ye pray for me that Christ have mercy on me and forgive me my guilts—and namely of my translations and inditings of worldly vanities, the which I revoke in my retractions—as is the book of Troilus, the book also of Fame, the book of the ladies, the book of the Duchess, the book of St. Valentine's day, of the Parliament of Briddes, the Tales of Canterbury thilke that sounden unto sin, the book of the Lion, and many another book, if they were in my remembrance, and many a song and many a lecherous lay, that Christ for His great mercy forgive me the sin. But of the translation of Boece *de Consolatione*, and other books of legends of Saints, and Homilies and morality and devotion, that thank I our Lord Jesu Crist and his blissful Mother, and all the Saints of Heaven, beseeching them that they from henceforth unto my life's end send me grace to bewail my guilt and to study to the salvation of my soul :—and grant me grace of verray penitence, confession and satisfaction to do in this present life, through the benign grace of Him that is King of kings and Priest over all priests, that bought us with the precious blood of His Heart, so that I may be one of them at the day of doom that shall be saved.

Here is ended the book of the Tales of Canterbury compiled by Geffrey Chaucer, on whose soule Jesu Christ have mercy. Amen." [1]

It is curious how unwelcome to the modern critic is any suggestion that the production of wanton or prurient literature can be an offence against the moral code. Professor Hales, in the long and very careful article he has devoted to Chaucer in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, writes as follows concerning the extract just quoted :— "One would rejoice if this morbid passage, occurring at the close of the *Parson's*

[1] J. M. Manly, *Canterbury Tales*, p. 492.

Tale, could be shown to be the interpolation of some monk; but, as it is, we must suppose that to Chaucer there came an hour of reaction and weakness." A number of efforts have in fact been made to prove either that the whole of the *Parson's Tale* is a spurious work, or that the passage with which it concludes is an interpolation. But the attempt, it is admitted, has failed. Dr. Thomas Gascoigne (1405–1458), who was Chancellor of the University of Oxford, in his "Theological Dictionary" takes occasion to remark:—

> Thus Chaucer before his death frequently cried out: "Woe to me, woe to me, because I can neither recall or destroy those things which I sinfully wrote concerning the base and shameful love of men for women, and which now will be continually handed on from one man to another"; and amid these lamentations he expired.[1]

It is, of course, plain enough that in those days, when books were only written by hand, there was no possibility of recalling from circulation any text that had once been launched. Both Chaucer and Boccaccio were powerless to suppress what now displeased them in the copies of their works which had already gone forth and which unidentifiable scriveners in all parts of the country had long been engaged in multiplying.

And this brings me in conclusion to suggest one possible explanation of a problem which has been much debated, but which has admittedly never met with a satisfactory solution. It has often been asked why Chaucer, in spite of his manifold indebtedness, has nowhere mentioned Boccaccio by name. To Petrarch he refers in laudatory terms, and his words seem to imply that he had met him personally at Padua. It is also in every way probable that the Englishman during his nine months sojourn in Italy had obtained access to Boccaccio and had learned from him that reverence for the author of the *Divina Commedia* which is manifest in his mention of Dante as "the great poete of Italie." We know for certain that Chaucer visited Florence, and it was in that very summer of 1373, that Boccaccio had been appointed by the Signoria to lecture on Dante to the students of the Tuscan capital.

[1] Vae mihi, vae mihi, quia nec revocare nec destruere jam potero illa quae male scripsi de malo et turpissimo amore hominum ad mulieres; et jam de homine ad hominem continuabuntur. Et sic plangens mortuus est. See *The Athenaeum*, March 31, 1888.

His health was then already failing, and his resolve, made ten years earlier, to abstain from all dalliance with erotic or satirical literature had not slackened but had rather been intensified. How Chaucer obtained copies of the *Filostrato*, the *Decameron*, or the *Teseide* is quite unknown to us, but it is easy to believe that in any intercourse which took place between the two poets the Italian would have made his attitude towards these earlier works very plain to his visitor. His infirmities made him realise that the end of life was not far off; he understood the account he would have to render for the harm which he had done, and he no doubt impressed upon the young Englishman how deeply he regretted and, in a sense, disowned the lewd and scurrilous writings of his earlier years.

Chaucer, as I venture to conjecture, would have listened with due deference to the scholar whose literary brilliance so particularly appealed to him, but as a young man in his thirties he was not thinking of the next world, and he would not then have paid much heed to the implied warning. Perhaps it came back to him forcibly enough in later years. Meanwhile he may well have felt that it was incumbent upon him as a matter of decency to refrain from introducing Boccaccio's name when making use of work which the author virtually repudiated. In these circumstances it becomes easy to understand why the English writer should profess his obligation, not to Boccaccio, but to a certain "Lollius," a name probably chosen of set purpose to leave his readers in ignorance. There were probably very few Englishmen of that day who were acquainted with the great Florentine's writings in their native Tuscan.

There are unfortunately many historians who assert that in the later middle ages the moral sense of professing Christians was thoroughly debased, and that their religion amounted to no more than a superstitious belief in external observances. The example of Boccaccio serves to show how narrow and unfounded is any such view. For thirteen years he remained faithful to his renunciation of frivolity or wantonness in his service of the Muses. His letter of November 7, 1374,

addressed to Petrarch's son-in-law, after that scholar's death, breathes a spirit of unaffected piety. "He is not dead," writes Boccaccio, "but he has gone before us. Seated among the just he pities our miseries, praying the Father of Mercy that He will give us strength to combat our faults during our pilgrimage, that when death comes He will give us a perfect end pleasing to Him; and that, notwithstanding the snares of our adversary, He will lead us to Himself." Boccaccio had still a year to live, and "in those last months," writes Mr. Hutton, "he seems to have given himself up almost with passion to religious contemplation."

That Chaucer during that short space before his death in which he resided within the precincts of the Abbey of Westminster, was filled with similar desires and regrets seems in every way probable from the deep religious feeling which inspires his *Parson's Tale* and the recantation with which it ends. We do not possess the text of his will, but that of a friend of his, Sir Lewis Clifford, drafted in English on September, 17, 1404, has been preserved:—

> I Lewis Clifford [it runs], false and traitor to my Lord God, and unworthy to be called a Christian man . . . recommend my wretched and sinful soul to the grace and great mercy of the Blessed Trinity, and my wretched carrion to be buried in the furtherest corner of the churchyard in which parish my wretched soul departeth from my body, and I pray and charge my survivors and my executors, as they will answer before God and as all my whole trust in this matter is in them, that on my stinking carrion be neither laid cloth of gold nor of silk, but a black cloth, and a taper at my head and another at my feet, nor stone nor other thing whereby any man may wit where my stinking carrion lyeth.[1]

Such language, which recalls the terms of the will of St. Ephraem the Syrian a thousand years earlier, could not have been dictated by either lawyer or priest. It represented the deep feeling of one who realised the holiness of God and his own sinfulness. If the Christians of those days were often outrageous in their wrongdoing, they were also very thorough in their self-abasement and remorse.

HERBERT THURSTON

[1] Harris Nicolas, *Scrope and Grosvenor Controversy*, vol. ii, p. 430. I have modernised the English.

SOME THOUGHTS ON THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

BY PROFESSOR MICHAEL TIERNEY, M.A.

THAT most judicial of historians, Thucydides, was probably the first to remark that disunity in action among associated states usually arises from discrepancies in matters of principle. We read this generalisation in his pages and pass it by as a mere platitude. Yet his generalisations have a way of revealing themselves at particular moments as the expression of profound and original truths. Many writers during the past few months have been inspired by the present position of the League of Nations to rediscover this one for themselves. That organ of world peace and world government, which seventeen years ago seemed capable of inaugurating a new and permanent age of peace, liberty, democracy and open diplomacy, now appears to have lost most if not all of its efficacy. Peace is once again as uncertain as in the lowering years before Serajevo. Liberty and democracy have vanished together over more than half Europe. Open diplomacy, with its endless and apparently fruitless series of conferences, protocols, and pacts, has itself become such a threat to peace that even its former advocates sigh for the ancient discretion of the chancelleries. The very phraseology which flourished too abundantly in connection with the League's proceedings has turned into a mockery.

When the Holy Alliance was formed a century ago to maintain intact the settlement of Vienna, its authors were conscious if not very hopeful reactionaries concerned more with preserving what they could of the old world than with reorganising it in favour of new principles. "The old Europe has come to the beginning of its end. I am determined to go down with it," said Prince Metternich. The twentieth-century successor of the Holy Alliance was its exact opposite in every respect. Its chief authors—men like Wilson, Lloyd

George, and Clemenceau—represented the most radical type of liberal opinion in their respective countries. Victors over the autocracies of the Central Powers, they felt themselves to be heirs of the future; and far from going down with the old world, they expected to be the founders of one totally new. Small nations were to come into their own, and the world was not only to be made safe for democracy but was to apply democratic methods of procedure to the solution of œcumenical problems. There has been hardly anything more paradoxical in history than the blighting in fifteen years of these splendid hopes. To a far greater degree than the Treaty of Vienna and the Holy Alliance, the Treaty of Versailles and the League of Nations have come to seem the survival, in a fundamentally altered world, of ideas and institutions from a now remote past. Wilson's Europe is farther from us to-day than even the Europe of Metternich.

The causes of this rapid reversal of fortune, which has made the new seem ancient and turned the preservative of peace into the instrument of anarchy, are not very hard to identify. There are indeed some—their letters may be found from day to day in the *Times*—who have been so taken by surprise that they both deny the change and are blind to the obvious forces which brought it about. Daily experience only shows more clearly, however, that the League, with its present scope and constitution, is more a danger than a safeguard to the world as it is now developing. By a contradiction which was not present in the case of the frankly reactionary Holy Alliance, the original pact of the League was bound up with the Treaty of Versailles. That Treaty was itself far more provocative of ultimate discontent and opposition than the Treaty of Vienna. A more unfortunate basis for a settlement which was to provide solutions for all eventual problems and ensure perpetual harmony could scarcely be imagined. The provision made in the pact for the revision of treaties was obviously framed in such a fashion as to secure the maximum postponement of such revision. When it is remembered that the treaties which brought the war to an end were drafted in many cases with the extreme of haste

and ignorance or one-sidedness, and that their signature was imposed by force on helpless states in the grip of anarchy, it is hardly unfair to say that the pact of the League merely disguised the old type of reaction under momentarily fashionable democratic phrases.

Behind its facade of high principles and in spite of the temporary adhesion of so many heterogeneous states, the League began its career in reality as the remnant of the Allied and Associated Powers who won the war and scamped the peace. Its constitution was a compromise between the hazy idealism of Wilson and the narrow, if in some respects impractical, realism of Clemenceau. Wilson's contribution was a strange mixture of sincere desire for international justice and harmony, with concessions vainly offered to the hostility of American politicians and devices for outwitting them. It was he, for example, who in order to make more difficult American opposition to the League, bound it up with the peace treaty, which he fondly believed could not be rejected. The new machinery for world government was indelibly stamped with the impress of Wilson's very peculiar personality before it had one of its vital parts removed by the defection of the United States. It is very doubtful whether England and France, if left to themselves from the beginning, would have attempted the futile enterprise of giving the League's constitution a democratic character. Responsibility of a government to an elected assembly is a very different thing inside a single state from the same principle applied as between a number of governments of radically different type. It is an illusion to suppose that states can sink their identity in a sort of democratic super-state, especially if at the same time they are vigorously engaged in expressing their separate personalities in other directions. No serious attention was given to the multifarious and very difficult questions which are involved in the relations between its constituent members and the League.

The history of the various withdrawals from the League, which have culminated in the present tangle of international crises, is in itself a complicated study. There can be no

question, however, but that the most fatal of these withdrawals was the first, that of the United States, which left the League before its inception. It was also the least excusable, because the contribution of American ideas to the League had been so far-reaching. Indeed much in the League's subsequent history bore what one may be pardoned for describing as a fatally American stamp. The many projects for "the outlawry of war," the most famous of which was the Kellogg Pact, partook to some extent of the character of American revivalist movements; they were motivated by the most excellent intentions, but neglected in a fatal fashion the most elementary care for the peculiarities of human nature. Like the League Covenant itself and like the American prohibition of alcoholic liquor, they represented a grandiose type of legislation in a vacuum. The failure to accommodate means to ends has left its effects everywhere on the history of the League. It is now coming to be more clearly recognised, largely as the result of recent experience, that the use of force to coerce a recalcitrant great power may easily have consequences more serious by far than the original offence which may call for it. The fact is that one of the principal functions of an international authority should be to spare the world from the danger of another "war to end war."

The League has at any rate done one great service by showing how very doubtful in practice may be plans which are enthusiastically acclaimed in theory. International democracy, by virtue of which smaller powers are put on an equality with greater, sounds very fine, and made a special appeal to the world of 1919 when small nations were to a certain extent in the fashion, so to speak. When, however, it produces a concrete case in which the small states unanimously agree that one great power must be coerced by another, its value for the perpetuation of peace, not to speak of its fairness, becomes more doubtful. Such a case was that of Manchukuo, where Great Britain was expected, on pain of unfaithfulness to the League, to enter on a doubtful, costly, and bloody war at the other side of the world. The British

Government in that case wisely contented itself with organising a remonstrance—which, if perhaps futile, had at least the merit of being less evil than a war. The Abyssinian affair has ended less satisfactorily, because while the small states have shown the same disinterested enthusiasm, the British Government has for some reason shown much less prudence. It seems probable enough that if Great Britain had possessed sufficient armament or sufficient confidence in its naval and air forces, the world might now be in the midst of an appalling struggle, which would already have extended far beyond the Mediterranean or African area. Both these cases have abundantly proved the insufficiency of the League's machinery; not because injustice was done with impunity while the League looked on, but because the very procedure which was designed to prevent war so nearly caused it.

Enthusiasts for the League, who speak with equanimity about the prospect of punitive war against a great power, seem to have forgotten that any European war on a large scale under modern conditions, no matter how virtuous the pretexts that produce it, will inevitably mean the collapse of European leadership in the world if not of European civilised life itself. The ease with which an unwarlike but highly organised nation like Italy could conduct tremendously risky military operations against a warlike but poorly organised nation like Abyssinia ought to be a clear warning. Conditions have in fact altered out of all proportion to those that prevailed even in 1914. In a world where there seems to be a race between the good sense of humanity and the ever-increasing possibility of mechanised self-destruction, there is less room than formerly for either sentimental chivalry or national prejudices, both of which have played too large a part in the movement of public opinion with regard to the Abyssinian war. It is very unfortunate, but only too true, that injustice must be weighed against the prospect of disaster in the pursuit of an ideal. The very existence of the League as now constituted would seem almost to act as an incitement to idealists to precipitate a crisis in which the

worst sufferers would necessarily be the least deserving. It is extraordinary how the very people who in other respects are the most pronounced pacifists are liable to the delusion that the event of 1919 has in fact changed the nature of war, when the only change has been to make it more terrible than ever. The liberalism of the nineteenth century was fecund in strange contradictions; its democracy tended to anarchy, its liberty to plutocracy and state-worship, its irreligion to superstition. But it has been left for the League of Nations, that creation of three ultimate liberals, to show its pacifism striving to hasten on a last great European war.

"The Catholic," said Mr. T. S. Eliot in a recent essay, "should have high ideals and moderate expectations: the heretic . . . . always has low ideals and great expectations." The danger with liberalism, and with all institutions founded on liberal principles, is that they are apt to be too hasty about ideals and expectations alike, so that desire for legitimate social change is always tumbling over into revolution, and a praiseworthy eagerness for peace predisposes men for war. In both cases the fault very often is that a right end is being sought for a wrong reason, as Cobden advocated European peace because war is too expensive. Living in a world where liberal ideas have long been in the ascendant, Catholics may unknowingly allow their own ideas to be identified with them, just as unfortunately Catholics were too often identified with the ideas of the *ancien régime*. The distinction between authority and autocracy, reform and revolution, peace as the outcome of justice and peace founded on commercial necessities or national self-interest is often difficult to observe. International unity is a very worthy ideal, but not all forms of it are equally worth striving for, and the means by which it is to be achieved must be strictly proportionate to the difficulty of its achievement at any moment. It must be recognised as something dynamic rather than static, an end to be reached only after the fulfilment of definite conditions rather than a rigid system to be imposed by law. There is no reason why we should mourn too bitterly over the decay of the League as we have so far known it, if that decay

has made evident certain faults in its principles and constitution, and if it points the way to a new beginning under better auspices.

Organisation for settling disputes between European powers has had a long history. It began in fact with the sixteenth century, almost immediately after the religious division had put an end to the medieval unity of Christendom and ushered in a period of unparalleled cruelty in war. Its reason is still what it always has been : the lack of any real unity among Christian nations since the end of the Middle Ages. The Wilsonian effort was directed towards finding in the democratic and equalitarian ideas of the French revolution a semi-religious substitute for the unity of Christendom. Unfortunately it has turned out that these ideas were about to enter into a period of rivalry with other ideas equally powerful just when the League came into being. Russian Communism, itself a product of nineteenth-century revolutionary thought, has proved to have all the missionary possibilities once shown by political democracy. Fascism and National Socialism, which may be said to have developed from another nineteenth-century gospel, that of nationalism, by way of a reaction to the Communist danger, are almost more formidable still. Thus the new Europe, on the morrow of the League's foundation, was equipped with three mutually incompatible political religions instead of the one—democracy —which in 1919 seemed to have the world at its feet. The great problem for any reconstructed League will undoubtedly prove to be the finding of a *modus vivendi* between these three.

Enough has perhaps been said to show that in the competition between them, democracy, especially as applied to international affairs, has the most to give away. The mere incoherence as between one democratic government and its successor has itself proved a fatal weakness in the development of League policy. No better illustration of this could be found than the different attitudes of the Labour and Tory governments in England to proposals like the Geneva protocol. The disadvantages under which democratic governments

suffer is at present being again demonstrated by the pause in vital negotiations between France and Germany while the French parliament is undergoing re-election. Democratic and parliamentary methods have been treated as fundamental to the League, and many have even doubted the possibility of international co-operation on any other basis. It is clear that on the contrary the tying-up of the whole League machinery with these methods has rendered such co-operation infinitely more difficult. The difficulty has only become obvious very recently because Italy and Germany have been the centres of crisis. It was however equally fatal in the previous crisis which led to the withdrawal of Japan, and indeed was evident in the circumstances under which the United States itself rejected the League at its origins. It looks as if the whole idea of a world-federation embodied in a parliament of man must be abandoned as a chimaera, and some sort of perhaps less spectacular unity found in some other direction.

We may even perhaps go further and say that not only the world-parliament but the world-federation itself must be given up in present circumstances. In practice, it is questionable if the adhesion of non-European states has been of any real advantage. Here again of course the initial defection of the United States was a fatality, and the optimism which proceeded to organise the world without them was something of a wonder. Probably the whole series of Chinese crises might have been more easily dealt with, if both Japan and China had been out of the League from the beginning. A united Europe could perhaps have imposed sanctions anywhere with effect. A disunited Europe cannot even do so within its own limits. If it should be decided to re-form the League on the basis of European solidarity, guaranteed by a real understanding between France, Germany, England and Italy, there is no doubt that such a re-formed body would be immensely more effective for securing the peace of the world. The chances of success would of course be immeasurably greater if, by some perhaps unimaginable stroke of policy and idealism combined, the European nations could return

to the only foundation on which they have ever yet achieved even comparative unity: the ancient, neglected, but still living and infinitely fruitful idea of Europe as the focus of Christendom. If those who yet profess Christianity in all European countries would devote themselves to the realisation of this idea, there is a possibility that with the evident bankruptcy of liberalism, the mutual cancelling-out of Bolshevism and Fascism, and the hideous danger of a common crash unless some *via media* can be discovered, they might yet hold the balance of power and provide the principle of unity which, apart from them, will never again be found.

The ominous developments of recent months, the re-entry of Communist Russia as the ally of France into European politics, the re-armament of Germany, England and Austria, the new imperialism of Italy and the general fatalism that has once more seized on the European mind have at least one minor consolation to set over against them. They all make it clearer than it has been since the false dawn of 1919 that the hope of peace lies in justice of the most far-reaching kind. In every country it is being proved by certain experience that the only alternative to justice is war, and that war cannot be humanised in any real sense of the word. It is highly encouraging to find very intelligent Englishmen like Mr. Aldous Huxley lending their aid to a League for Constructive Peace and proposing that " the great monopolistic powers should immediately summon a conference at which the unsatisfied powers, great and small, should be invited to state their grievances and claims."[1] Catholics cannot by any means agree with all Mr. Huxley's arguments, but at least the proposal he supports is based on a really Christian idea and one that, if carried into effect, would do more good than years of re-armament. Here is a case where the necessities of imminent danger are drawing men of good will together. A European League, determined to abandon partial and unjust settlements which have turned peace into a brief interval between ever more fearful wars, would find that the

[1] Mr. Huxley's pamphlet " What Are You Going to Do About It ? " is published for threepence by Chatto and Windus.

only principles capable of giving Europe what it needs are the old principles which at least mitigated disunion and rendered war less fearful in the Middle Ages. It would be necessary for it not only to consider the redistribution of territories and give access to economic resources, but also, while leaving each state free to arrange its own internal constitution, to take such steps as would establish everywhere freedom of conscience limited only by obedience to laws universally recognised as just. Nothing has been more symptomatic of the old League's weakness and incapacity than its inhuman indifference to the revival of persecution of conscience in many forms in Russia, Germany, Mexico, and elsewhere.

The fundamental requisite for the success of a League reformed on these lines is the limitation of its aims to the settlement of urgent problems over a fixed area. This limitation may be regretted by enthusiasts, but in fact it will only mean the abandonment of a false absolutism and universalism which has been one of the curses inflicted by liberal doctrines on the world. A united Europe is an essential preliminary to any prospect of unity for mankind as a whole. European unity should no longer be sought along lines of pretended uniformity, but on the basis of fair-play and justice as between nations, whatever their form of government. Every nation has something to contribute to this end, for there is hardly any one which has not carried nationalism or imperialism or some other modern obsession to excessive lengths. Defective as the existing League has proved, its defects have been immensely aggravated by the conflicting interests of the great powers. England began, under the auspices of Lord Balfour, with an attitude of probably justifiable doubt and reserve towards the prospects of securing the more grandiloquent aims set forth in the Covenant. It is quite beyond question that within the limits cautiously envisaged by British statesmen ten years ago, the League has abundantly justified its existence. It has dealt with certain very important questions like opium and the traffic in drugs and slaves ; it has rendered invaluable assistance in at least partly overcoming some of the financial difficulties left by the treaties of peace ; and its

subsidiary institutions, like the Hague Tribunal and the Labour Office, have brought international co-operation further than was ever possible before. Its good work, however, was largely limited to questions of minor importance or questions upon which a measure of agreement on principle already existed. In 1925 Sir Austen Chamberlain expressed the view that it would be sound policy for the League to avoid general commitments and make special arrangements to meet special needs. Unfortunately, while the danger of general commitments has enormously increased since that date, the British government has itself somersaulted into a policy of promoting them.

Here indeed is a case where a special decision is clearly called for. England is coming inevitably closer to the fatal day when she must choose between the self-contained world-empire of which she has so long fitfully dreamt and definite participation in the affairs of Europe, to which history inexorably commits her. That the choice will be difficult is evident from the uneasiness at present being displayed by influential supporters of the government on the future of the colonies and the mandated areas. A great deal will depend, not alone for England, but for the world, on whether she follows the ideas of the League for Constructive Peace, as voiced by Mr. Aldous Huxley, or the reactionary imperialism which is in violent conflict with her geographical position in the modern world. No power has done so much to produce confusion in Europe for the past century-and-a-half as England has done, both by reason of her own Janus-like character, at once imperialist and international, and by reason of the fact that she has either produced or given hospitality to the exponents of all the most dangerous modern heresies. Lord Palmerston, a revolutionary in Naples and a reactionary in Ireland, or Lord Granville, giving shelter in Victorian England to the Communist firebrands who could find it nowhere else, are types whose like has by no means yet passed away. Many of the fatal contradictions that have blighted the high hopes of the League have their roots in what Trotsky called the "unconscious hypocrisy" of the English political mind.

The French contribution to the pathology of Geneva has been of a different kind. Hypocrisy, whether conscious or unconscious, is no part of the French character. The French failing is more intelligible and of ancient origin. It is the passion for " security " at all costs, so similar to the strange impetus that led the Roman peasant state to the conquest and ultimately the ruin of the old world. It has inspired one fatal French alliance after another, from those with the Turks and Swedes in the sixteenth and seventeenth century to the last and most formidable with Bolshevik Russia in our own day. In the present case it may eventually lead to the revival of the Russian danger to Europe, which curiously enough used to haunt the mind of Karl Marx. It is not impossible that Russia, if it can really bring itself to the Western level as an industrial power, may resume more successfully the role of Alexander I as arbiter of the Continent, and that a " modernist " Communism in the future may look back on the extremism of Lenin and Stalin as an irrelevant, if picturesque, past episode. The danger of a union between Bolshevism and French Socialism against Hitler's Germany is one which a new League must set itself to conjure. It will be less in proportion as the real injustices of the Versailles treaty are the more radically undone and all French fears of a German revenge thereby removed.

Undoubtedly one of the causes of this unfortunate alliance has been French uncertainty with regard to English policy. If England and Germany together could set themselves to secure the exclusion of Russia from the League by reassuring France as to her own safety, a long step would have been taken towards an enduring peace. It is here that the very puzzling attitude of England towards Italy in recent months has been peculiarly unfortunate. Italy, unlike France and England, emerged dissatisfied from the Great War and was the first nation which might justly claim some revision of the peace treaties in her favour. If she had been met with more readiness, the Abyssinian adventure might never have been undertaken and the present uncertainties might have been altogether avoided. Success in Abyssinia will give Italy a

stronger position in Europe than ever before, and make her a leader second to none in any reconstituted League. If France, England, and Italy could even now re-establish their solidarity, they might even turn the German re-militarisation of the Rhineland to advantage as giving an opportunity for the definite settlement of the whole Versailles legacy and the remodelling of the League to meet the needs of to-day. There are unfortunately many very thorny problems to settle, especially in Eastern Europe. The final removal of distrust as between the four great powers is the essential preliminary to the settlement of any of them. Much of the distrust is due to intangible causes, which the spirit of the old League has intensified rather than weakened. The Wilsonian formulas aroused great hopes at one time, but they were never related to reality, and the unreal in politics is always a danger. It may seem that a new League based on the concert of the four great powers and limiting its activity to the realisation of attainable objects is a great decline from the splendid expansiveness of the old. Fears have been expressed that smaller states may come but poorly out of such a change. The fact remains that it is the only hope that stands between Europe and a fresh catastrophe, in which all her states, small as well as great, may founder together.

MICHAEL TIERNEY

FATHER GERARD HOPKINS IN HIS LETTERS*

BY REV. HUGH KELLY, S.J.

THE fame which Father Gerard Manley Hopkins, S.J., had renounced in his lifetime has sought him out after his death, slowly but surely. In 1918, nearly thirty years after his death, his friend Robert Bridges gave to the world the *Poems of Gerard Manley Hopkins*, a slender volume which caught the attention of only a small number—but just that select few whose opinion will be in time universally accepted. A second and enlarged edition appeared in 1930, of which three reprints were issued by 1935. By that time his fame was secure and interest in him was steadily growing. The publication of his letters mark a decisive stage in the growth of his reputation. A man whose letters are published in an elaborate and expensive edition nearly fifty years after his death has evidently special claims to permanency. Hopkins's poetry is obviously marked by genius and is the utterance of a rich, original spirit. But its slight quantity calls for some explanation. The man is greater than his achievement, and his readers will want a reason for the disparity between power and execution. Hence these two volumes of letters, produced with the solid distinction of the Oxford University Press, supply a real need. They are edited in a thorough manner by Professor Claude Colleer Abbott of the University of Durham. They are a model of what such an edition should be, with all the notes necessary to elucidate the text, and they are the result of very accurate and wide research. Full but necessary information about many points referred to in the letters is given in long additional notes at the end. The introduction is written with much sympathy and knowledge, and the general estimate of Hopkins as man and poet seems to us to be very fair.

The larger of the two volumes contains the letters written to Robert Bridges. The correspondence began when Hopkins

* The Hopkins Letters. Edited in two volumes by Claude Colleer Abbot (Oxford University Press. 1935. 30s. net).

was an undergraduate at Balliol, on summer vacation, and already seriously thinking of becoming a Catholic. His conversion which came next year and still more his entrance into the Jesuit noviceship in 1868 threatened to bring it to an end; but friendship and community of taste prevailed, and Bridges and Hopkins continued to correspond until the death of the latter in 1889. Bridges piously preserved his friend's letters, arranged them in chronological order and made certain slight omissions and erasions, evidently with a view to publication. His own letters, which were returned to him after Hopkins's death, he destroyed. The loss of these letters is severe; and we miss the contrast of style which would be illuminating. Reading the volume is to some extent like hearing a conversation at a telephone; but as Hopkins's letters were written to questions raised by his friend or discussed by him, we can form a fairly good notion of the mind of Bridges not merely on poetry and metre but on literature and to some extent on religion. When his friend became a Jesuit, Bridges went to study medicine, became a doctor and practised for some years. His circumstance, however, allowed him to retire from his profession and devote himself exclusively to poetry. His great achievement as a poet shows that he had found his true vocation.

The second correspondent, Richard Watson Dixon, is represented by his own letters in the second and smaller volume of the collection. We form from them a very definite idea of a noble and attractive character. He was a man of rare gifts of intelligence and character. A clergyman of the Church of England, once he left Oxford he had scanty opportunities for the literary work which attracted him. His pastoral work, to which he gave himself conscientiously, kept him in remote villages away from libraries and literary association. Yet he wrote a history of the English Church during the Reformation in several volumes, a work of erudition and rare impartiality. But his true interest was poetry. He belonged to the school of Rossetti, of whom he was a friend, and his longer poems deal with romantic medieval characters and situations. There is something pathetic about

the career of this highly gifted man. He got little recognition from his Church for his clerical work, and still less from the public for his writings. It is strange that poetry which won the enthusiastic praise of such critics as Hopkins and Bridges met with almost universal neglect during his lifetime and since his death. The history of the composition of *Mano*, his longest narrative poem, is typical of his whole career. Fearing that the absence of books or encouragement would lead him to abandon his design, he bound himself to produce a canto a month and deliver it into the hands of a clerical friend in whose judgment he trusted. As he handed in the last canto up to time, he ventured timidly to ask, for the first time, for an opinion of his work. His friend had to confess that he had not even looked at any of it.

The correspondence with Hopkins meant a great deal for this lonely unworldly man. The letter which began it gave him more pleasure than any letter of his life. Hopkins introduced himself by saying that he had been taught by Dixon for a short time at Highgate School; and that he had then come to know and love his poetry. When he decided to become a Jesuit, knowing that he would not be able to possess any books as his own property, he had copied out many of these poems and had kept them. Then he went on to indicate the excellences that so strongly attracted him. This splendid appreciation, coming suddenly from a stranger but one evidently of rare gifts as a critic, almost made up to Dixon for the years of neglect. "You cannot but know," he answered, "that I must be deeply moved, nay shaken to the very centre, by such a letter as that which you sent me—I can in truth hardly realise that what I have written, which has been generally, almost universally, neglected, should have been so much valued and treasured." The friendship begun with such sympathy and understanding, lasted to the end, though the two friends met only once and for a few hours.

Whatever reservations may be considered necessary with regard to Hopkins's poetry, there can be no difference of opinion about his prose. His letters show him at once to be a writer of prose of a rare excellence. The contrast between

his letters and those of Canon Dixon is evident at a glance. It is just possible that Bridges did not care to have his prose submitted to that formidable continuous contrast. "Like all good letters," says Mr. Abbott, "they stand alone; no one else could have written them." His letters are unmistakable. They were obviously thrown off spontaneously, and only when he had something to say. But they are never careless in structure, and in language he was a rigid purist. "Disillusion," he wrote to Bridges, "is a bad word; you mean Disenchantment. It is as bad as Or-de-al, and Preventitive and Standpoint and the other barbarisms . . . . The same 'brutes' say 'disillusion' as say 'standpoint' and 'preventitive' and 'equally as well' and 'to whomsoever shall ask.'" He professed a great admiration for the rhythm of Dryden's poetry; certainly he recalls Dryden's prose in the plain easy strength of his own. It is an additional tragedy about Hopkins that he has left no considerable work in prose; with such an instrument, of which he does not seem to have recognised the value, he could have achieved any effect.

The value of his letters from a literary and critical point of view is very considerable. A great portion of them is given to a criticism of Bridges's early poems—a criticism searching, fine and firm, which descended to minute detail and indeed at times became finical. It would be hard to estimate how much the future Poet Laureate gained from this continued criticism. Very instructive also is his criticism of English writers—especially contemporaries. He had not read very widely, but his judgment was naturally just and penetrating. He is nearly always right, and the narrowness and at times the prejudice of Bridges and Dixon are in strong contrast to his mature opinions. He usually anticipates what has become the settled verdict of posterity, as is seen in his estimate of men like Carlyle, Stevenson, Patmore, Arnold, and others. His defence of Wordsworth, especially of the *Ode*, against the strictures of Dixon is a superb piece of imaginative criticism. The great *Ode* was surely never praised and appreciated so splendidly before. Above all his letters are extremely helpful for an understanding of his own poetry.

"Like all good letters," says Mr. Abbott, "they bring the whole man resolutely before us as nothing else could." And there are special reasons why we need this source of information in his case. It is very easy to get a narrow or distorted view of Hopkins. His originality of style and technique have made him the object of a special cult at the hands of a small ultra-modern clique, with whom in mind and ideas he has absolutely no affinity. The smallness of his output and the intense bitterness of some of his later sonnets —"written in blood," as he himself said of them—suggest something tragic. Moreover he was a Catholic priest and a Jesuit. Hence an impression can be easily formed that he is a poet of disillusionment, that he is something of a *révolté*. He is cited with men like Joyce, Proust, and D. Lawrence. Some of his later sonnets might be quoted to show him as a spirit chafing under the burden of the Catholic faith or as frustrated and hampered by the intellectual and moral disdipline of the Jesuit system. His letters manifest the authentic man and will help to maintain the genuine features of a very noble, spiritual and, we must admit, tragic character. Moreover the growing number of those who have come, and will come, to love his poetry will want to know more intimately the man, not merely the poet, because the man is finer, nobler and more attractive than his poetry.

The dominant impression that the letters leave on a reader is that of an essentially spiritual man. Another impression is that he had much to suffer in spirit. The sensibility which made him a poet laid him open to much unhappiness. But his sufferings came chiefly from his temperament and health. He was one of those whom Melancholy had marked for her own. It was from his religion that he got his true content with life. The whole build of his life was religious. Whether he could be called a religious poet or a poet who was a religious man may be disputed. But that he was a man of a deeply spiritual mind and moreover fashioned to that asceticism which is distinctly Ignatian is abundantly visible on every page of his letters. He never had any difficulties about Faith; it was never a burden to him—rather it was always a support.

His position as a member of the Society of Jesus was never to him anything but a cause of gratitude and elevation. He said of his conversion to the Catholic Church : " The happiness it has been the means of bringing to me, I could not have conceived " ; and on that matter he knew no change to the end.

In spite of the difference caused by his conversion and entrance into the Society of Jesus, his friendship with Bridges lasted and deepened. He usually addressed him as " Dearest Bridges," and wished himself to be called by his Christian name. When even Bridges found *The Wreck of the Deutschland* too much, he wrote : " I cannot think of altering anything. Why should I ? You are my public and I hope to convert you. You say you would not for any money read my poem again. Nevertheless I beg you will. Besides money, you know there is love." This correspondence gave him the opportunity for an interchange of ideas with a dear friend and a man of kindred mind. He felt the need of friends. He needed also to give to his aesthetic interests that satisfaction which his professional studies could not give. Hopkins was not too generous with compliments ; but when they came, how gracious and heartening they were ! " You seem to want to be told over again that you have genius and are a poet and your verses are beautiful . . . If I were not your friend I should wish to be the friend of the man who wrote your poems. They show the eye for pure beauty, and they show, my dearest, besides the character which is much more rare and precious." What Bridges thought of this friendship we know ; for it is to his long loyalty and patient efforts that his friend's posthumous fame is due.

But for all their friendship and community of taste, they were widely sundered on the things that were most real to Hopkins. For him the truths of religion commanded all his views of life. Bridges's religious views were of altogether less moment in his life, and were much less definite. To the Catholic Church and to the Society of Jesus he had the traditional English antipathy. Hopkins knew his friend's attitude well, and while never making any secret of his own

views he did not often try to influence him directly. Probably the one occasion on which he had done so had showed him that such a method was useless. In a letter written in 1879 he remarks that, at their last meeting in London, they never spoke on any important subject but only on literature. He said that he regretted this and invited his friend to send him his thoughts on what was to him the most important of all subjects. "You understand, of course," he went on, "that I desire to see you a Catholic or, if not that, a Christian or, if not that, at least a believer in the true God (for you told me something of your views about the Deity, which were not as they should be)." He then urged him to give alms. "I daresay indeed that you do give alms, still I should say give more; I should be bold to say give up to the point of sensible inconvenience: *Fieri non potest ut idem sentiant qui aquam et qui vinum bibant;* the difference of mind and being between the man who finds comfort all round him unbroken unless by constraints that are none of his own seeking and the man who is pinched by his own charity is too great for forecasting, it must be felt." The proposal was resented, and Hopkins did not again make so direct an approach. But he would never leave his friend under a false impression, and he never hesitated to correct him bluntly or at least to put forward the Catholic view. In 1882 he invited Bridges to see the *Corpus Christi* procession at Manresa, Roehampton, and some remark of his guest seemed to him to call for correction. "It is a long time," he wrote, "since such things had any significance for you. But what is strange and unpleasant is that you sometimes speak as if they had in reality none for me and you were only waiting with a certain disgust till I too should be disgusted with myself enough to throw off the mask . . . . Yet I can hardly think you do not think that I am in earnest." It is probable that Hopkins felt much oftener than he expressed it this clash of view. When Bridges announced with satisfaction that a convert to Catholicity had again returned to Protestantism, he said: "There is something in you interposed between—the Christian and the man of the world which hurts, which is to me like biting on a cinder in bread."

The correspondence with Canon Dixon is much more spiritual in tone. From the first Hopkins felt himself in touch with an unworldly man, a minister of religion by practice as well as by profession. He proposed motives for consolation for the neglect of his work which he would not have suggested to Bridges. "Fame whether won or lost is a thing which lies in the award of a random reckless incompetent and unjust judge, the public, the multitude. The only just judge, the only just literary critic is Christ, who prizes, is proud of and admires more than any other man, more than the receiver himself can, the gifts of his own making." This unusual kind of criticism was fully appreciated by Dixon, who drew deep consolation from it and said that it came upon him with the force of a revelation. Later on, when Dixon failed to be elected to the Chair of Poetry at Oxford, Hopkins wrote to him and reminded him that the life of Christ was one long disappointment. To Dixon also he spoke with much more intimacy about his religious ideas, about the aims and spirit of the Society of Jesus and his appreciation of his vocation.

But Hopkins's actions and practice reveal his religious cast of mind more fully than chance remarks in his letters. His whole religious life was lived on supernatural lines and was marked by a severe interior asceticism. His spirituality is distinctly Ignatian, and is founded on the Spiritual Exercises. When he decided to enter the Society of Jesus and understood that he must sacrifice everything that might be an obstacle to his new all-absorbing purpose, he saw that there was one thing whose value and place in life were to be settled once and for all. His poetic gifts might easily disorganize the unity of his new plan of life, and he resolved to subordinate them ruthlessly to the demands of his vocation. "You ask, do I write verse myself," he wrote to Canon Dixon at the beginning of their friendship. "What I had written I burnt before I became a Jesuit and resolved to write no more as not belonging to my profession, unless it were by the wish of my superiors; so for seven years I wrote nothing but two or three little presentation pieces which occasion called for. But when in the winter of '75 the *Deutschland* was wrecked in

the mouth of the Thames and five Franciscan nuns, exiles from Germany by the Falk laws, aboard of her were drowned I was affected by the account, and happening to say so to my rector he said that he wished that some one would write a poem on the subject. On this hint I set to work and, though my hand was out at first, produced one." The poem written in these conditions, and by which he broke his long silence, was *The Wreck of the Deutschland*, his longest and probably his greatest poem. This incident manifests the mind of Hopkins completely. It shows that he had a complete scheme of spiritual values for his life. For one gifted with his powerful impulse towards self-expression this kind of asceticism was heroic. But it came from a clear view of the unity of life which his vocation asked of him. "My vocation," he wrote to Dixon, "puts before me a standard so high that a higher can be found nowhere else. The question then for me is not whether I am willing (if I may guess what is in your mind) to make a sacrifice of hopes of fame (let us suppose), but whether I am not to undergo a severe judgment from God for the loathness I have shown in making it, for the reserves I may have in my heart made, for the backward glances I have given with my hand upon the plough, for the waste of time the very compositions you admire may have caused and their pre-occupation of the mind which belonged to more sacred or more binding duties, for the disquiet and the thoughts of vain glory they have given rise to. A purpose may look smooth and perfect from without, but befrayed and faltering from within. I have never wavered in my vocation, but I have not lived up to it." If his spiritual notes and journals are ever published, they will no doubt tell in a fuller and more intimate way the story of this heroic renunciation, of the momentary shrinkings and weaknesses, of the hours of bitterness to which it must have given occasion. Hopkins was only human, and such a renunciation was not made once and for all—against the tremendous and constant opposition of the natural man it had to be renewed many times. But there is no hint of regret as to his vocation. He had freely linked his life with a great spiritual movement which worked for

supernatural ends, and he judged all activities and results by supernatural standards. If at times the natural man protested and asked *ut quid perditio haec*, this was due to a momentary shifting of his gaze from the higher level. His natural activity and work was by this means transcended and spiritualised. To attempt to estimate his career with purely natural values is to deny the existence of the supernatural and to render inexplicable and absurd not merely his life but that of countless others who made the same use, or sacrifice, of their gifts.

"If we care for fine verse how much more for a noble life?" These words of Hopkins to Bridges are the key to his mind and soul. Hopkins cared for fine things immensely, for verse and prose, for beauty of colour and figure, and for the beauty of nature. But he had a full hierarchical scale of values. He recognised clearly different orders of beauty, the beauty of character, of soul, of heart, and above all the beauty of virtue and holiness. "I think—no one can admire beauty of the body more than I do, and it is of course a comfort to find beauty in a friend or a friend in beauty. But this kind of beauty is dangerous. Then comes the beauty of the mind, such as genius, and this is greater than the beauty of the body and not to call dangerous. And more beautiful than the beauty of the mind is beauty of character, 'the handsome heart'." This scheme of the orders of beauty must be crowned by the beauty of soul and grace.

Hopkins was reticent as to his own interior life; it was a subject on which he could not speak to either of his correspondents. But there is a remark in a letter to Bridges which does seem to open for a moment the inner chamber of his soul. He is trying to justify himself for not writing or publishing more. "I cannot in conscience spend time on poetry, neither have I the inducements and inspirations that make others compose. Feeling, love in particular, is the great moving power and spring of verse, and the only person that I am in love with seldom, especially now, stirs my heart sensibly, and when he does I cannot always make capital of it, it would be sacrilege to do so."

Hopkins's sensibility to beauty made him sensitive to ugliness in all forms. He lived and worked at Liverpool and Glasgow as a priest for a few years, and the squalor that he found in those industrial centres was a torture to him. The vice and drunkenness, the gross manners, " the besotted figures and feature " filled him with loathing and sorrow. He found it an intolerable strain to live in such surroundings. " My Liverpool and Glasgow experience laid upon my mind a conviction, a truly crushing conviction of the misery of town life to the poor, of the misery of the poor in general, of the degradation of even our race, of the hollowness of this century's civilisation ; it made life even a burden to me to have daily thrust upon me the things I saw." When he speaks like this, he is losing sight of his scheme of values. He knew well that behind the squalor and grossness of manner there might be an abundance of beauty of a higher order ; the handsome heart ; the beauty of the soul.

In general there is nothing anaemic in the character of Hopkins. He belonged to his own age—to mid-Victorian England. He was a man of strong views and prejudices, which he expressed with vigour. He had a great love for England and felt intensely anything that reflected on English prestige. In politics he was a Tory of the Oxford school, bitterly hostile to Gladstone and his whole policy. Gladstone is for him " the grand old mischief-maker " and " the grand old traitor." The defeat of Majuba caused him intense bitterness. " We have been shamefully beaten by the Boers (at Majuba it was simply that our troops funked and ran), but this is not the worst that is to be. . . . The state of the country is indeed sad, I might say it is heart-breaking, for I am a very great patriot. Lamentable as the condition of Ireland is, there is hope of things mending, but the Transvaal is an unredeemed disgrace. And people do not seem to mind."

To one of his temperament and completely English outlook, life in Ireland in the years from 1884 to 1889 must have been very distressing. At the moment of his arrival in Dublin political and national passion had boiled up to a fierce intensity in the Parnell movement. Hopkins knew nothing of the

true meaning or of the historical background of the Irish struggle. He was appalled by the passion; he saw only a violence which he at once took to be criminal. We get a reflection of his state of mind from an answer written by Newman to a letter of his. "You describe a state of thing which is appalling," said the Cardinal. But a later sentence in the same letter, "If I were an Irishman I should be (at heart) a rebel," shows a power of sympathy and an understanding of the whole situation that Hopkins did not possess. But it is possible, I believe, to trace in his Dublin letters a certain growth of sympathy, or at least an attempt at understanding, which, had he lived longer, would probably have considerably increased.

Through the letters of the last ten years of his life there is a recurring, deepening note of reference to increasing bad health. His illness was some form of nervous prostration, which produced at times the intensest depression and, worst of all, robbed him of all mental energy. "Every impulse and spring of art seems to have died down in me, except for music," he wrote from Liverpool in 1881. And the same complaint is made again and again, with a growing sense of hopelessness. He had no disease, and admitted that his work was not too heavy. But the impulse to produce failed or was only spasmodic. At times the depression he suffered seemed to him to be close to madness. And who knows if his early death was not a happy release from a worse calamity?

His appointment as Professor of Greek at University College, Dublin, in 1884, gave Hopkins a position which he appreciated—of which, indeed, he felt himself unworthy. His work of lecturing was not onerous, but it carried with it the duty of holding examinations four times a year, which he found the intensest drudgery. The letters of this last phase of his life show also a curious restlessness of mind, an interest in different subjects which is easily kindled, but which dies out just as quickly. Musical composition attracted him more and more. None of the pieces he has left show any particular talent in that line. The impulse for poetry was there all the time, but it never resulted in anything longer

than a sonnet painfully and laboriously finished. He felt also that scholarly professional work was expected of him, and many projects came to his mind. A book on Greek metre, and one on English metre (on the latter he believed he had something worth saying); textual criticism on Aeschylus, for whom he had a great admiration; papers on Classical subjects; a critical edition of St. Patrick's Breastplate ("read it and see if it is not one of the most remarkable compositions of man"); Latin verse compositions of Shakespeare's songs—these are some of the projects which are planned and begun—but never finished. He feels himself gripped in a kind of fatalism; he is certain that he can finish nothing or, if he does succeed in finishing a work, that something will prevent it from seeing the light. His state of soul is revealed in a passage to Bridges written from Dublin in 1885: "I do greatly desire to treat that subject [English Metre] and might perhaps get something together this year; but I can scarcely believe that on that or on anything else anything of mine will see the light—of publicity or even of day. For it is widely true that the fine pleasure is not to do a thing but to feel that you could, and the mortification that goes to the heart is to feel it is the power that fails you; *qui occidere nolunt posse volunt;* it is the refusal of a thing we like to have. So with me if I could but get on, if I could but produce work I should not mind its being buried, silenced, and going no farther; but it kills me to be time's eunuch and never to beget. Now because I have had a holiday, though not strong, I have some buoyancy; soon I am afraid I shall be ground down to a state like this last Spring's or Summer's when my spirits were so crushed that madness seemed to be making approach—and nobody was to blame except myself, partly for not managing myself better and contriving a change." That feeling of frustration, of seeing his plans and ideas fall impotently from his nerveless hand, of realising poignantly that he can only dream but cannot achieve is the subject of "Thou art indeed just, Lord," a sonnet in which he expresses his anguish with the force and emotion of great poetry.

We are justified in seeing in Hopkins's last poems a true reflection of his mind; it seems impossible that these tragic utterances could be the fruit of mere imagination or fancy; they are manifestly written in blood and tears, and in them he tried to unpack his heart. His rich vigorous mind had become a torture to him; depression had driven him in upon himself—a depression at times akin to madness—and had brought him to the verge of those terrible depths of mind he has spoken of—

> "O the mind has mountains; cliffs of fall
> Frightful, sheer, no-man fathomed."

He suffered intensely in mind, whatever the cause—whether natural, from ill health and nerves; or spiritual, a purifying process sent by God. At times he evidently had to struggle with despair, a struggle to which he gives expression in the terrible sonnet beginning:

> "Not, I'll not, carrion comfort, Despair, not feast on thee."

But the temptation to despair has often been God's most searching and potent instrument in the forging of strong souls; and it is to the realities of his religion that Hopkins always looks for solace—or at least for strength to endure. All his poems, and especially the late sonnets, show the essential rightness of his spiritual life—the true Catholic formation of his mind.

HUGH KELLY

DR. CALLAN OF MAYNOOTH

BY REV. P. J. MCLAUGHLIN, D.SC.
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NICHOLAS CALLAN achieved distinction in the field of science and altered the conditions of life by his researches. His pioneer work on the transformer helped to make possible such undertakings as the Shannon Scheme. His induction coil opened up new avenues of research in high-tension electricity: it paved the way for the discovery of Hertzian or "wireless" waves utilized in broadcasting; it formed one of the most important links in the chain of apparatus required for the discovery of Röntgen-rays, so useful in modern surgery and industry; it provided a simple ignition system for exploding the mixed gases in the petrol engine, some form of it being employed in all motor cars. The Callan valve provided the first practical means of rectifying high-tension alternating currents. Callan's researches on spark gaps and sparking potentials have numerous applications, for instance in atmospheric electricity and in the construction of lightning conductors: little use, however, has been made of his work in this department, chiefly because his experiments were in advance of his time and have since been overlooked. To other branches of science Dr. Callan made important contributions. Yet in scarcely any modern text book will he be found mentioned; and invariably the induction coil, which owes more to Callan than to any other individual, is associated with the name of a Parisian mechanic.

Some of the neglect that has befallen him is Callan's misfortune. He was generally so intensely busied with his experiments and professorial duties that he had little time for communicating the detailed results of his researches to the scientific periodicals. Frequently he was handicapped by the state of his health, which made writing peculiarly difficult. He lived, too, in an unsympathetic *milieu;* and his was the lot of the pioneer. Most of his colleagues refused to take him or his work seriously. They joked at his expense, made fun of his experiments and laughed at his disappointments—all in a good-natured way, no doubt, but Callan, a man

of sensitive and simple nature, must have been greatly irritated and discouraged by finding himself the butt of the College wits. Others, men of profound but narrow learning, eyed his researches with positive disfavour. Whether as a result of the influence of Jansenism or of their reactions to the acute controversy then developing between the exponents of science and religion, they told Callan he was wasting his time, if not doing worse, in messing about with coils of wire and bits of iron. Callan, whose resistance had been lowered by ill-health and repeated disappointments in his researches, took their counsels so much to heart that he devoted a considerable number of the best years of his life to translating St. Alphonsus Liguori and the Abbé Gebbet into English—as a penance, it is said, for having spent so many hours in scientific investigations in his laboratory.

But the greater blame for the existing neglect of Callan lies at the door of his own countrymen. They made little effort to keep his memory green, and almost without protest let the credit of his discoveries go to strangers. It is significant that the Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy do not contain a single line from Callan's pen. The sole mention of his work in the transactions of that distinguished society is due to a gentleman who attended one of his lectures in 1863 (the year before Callan died), when already the *Philosophical Magazine* was according him pride of place in its publications, and accounts of his researches had appeared in *Sturgeon's Annals of Electricity*, *Noad's Text Books*, *Poggendorf's Annalen der Chymik*, the *Comptes Rendus* and other British and foreign periodicals.

It is to be hoped that, as a result of the revival of interest in the history of Physics, a serious attempt will be made to procure for Callan that permanent niche in the Hall of Science to which his achievements so fairly entitle him.

Sketch of Callan's Life

Nicholas Joseph Callan was born at Darver in the County of Louth, December 22nd, 1799. His father, Denis Callan of Dromiskin, known as Donncadh Beag, married Margaret

Smith sometime before 1790 and settled in Darver on the western side of the Dundalk-Ardee Road, midway between Darver Castle and Christiantown Cross. There were four sons and two daughters in the family. Nicholas was the second youngest. He received his elementary education in Dundalk, at the school of the Rev. Wm. Neilson. The death of his father, early in 1813, followed almost immediately by the death of his eldest brother James, must have been a severe blow. Providence, however, intervened. The saintly Father Andrew Levins, who was Parish Priest of Dromiskin at the time, took charge of the young orphan and sent him to the diocesan seminary of Navan to complete his preparatory studies for the priesthood.

Nicholas entered Maynooth College at the age of sixteen, matriculating in the class of Rhetoric. From the day he entered the College until his ordination, in 1823, his career is described as "one uninterrupted record of rapid and brilliant success." In 1822 he became a student of the Dunboyne establishment. One of the opinions he advanced in support of his theses before the Trustees the following year led to a disputation *De Sacrificio Abrahae*, which created quite a stir in the theological circles of the day.

Having completed his twenty-third year, he was ordained in the College Chapel (May 24th, 1823) by the Most Rev. Dr. Murray. In entering thus early into Orders, he forfeited a large legacy to which had been attached the strange condition that he should not receive priesthood before his twenty-sixth birthday.

In August, 1824, Father Callan proceeded to Rome and helped to re-establish the Irish College, which had been suppressed in common with other ecclesiastical institutions in Italy under the French régime. He attended lectures in the University known as the Sapienza, and obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology (1825). It is highly probable that Dr. Callan did not confine his studies to theology during his stay at Rome; he doubtlessly availed himself of the opportunities which such a centre offered for acquainting himself with the most recent developments in Voltaic Electricity.

Early in 1826 Dr. Callan was invited by the President of Maynooth College to present himself as a candidate for the chair of Natural Philosophy just vacated by the retirement of the Rev. Cornelius Denvir, who later became Bishop of Down and Connor. Callan returned from Rome in June (1826) and after the usual public examination, at which no other candidate appeared, was appointed Professor of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.

The story of Nicholas Callan from this point is mainly a record of the routine of his professorial duties and of his contributions to the subjects on which he lectured. He inherited a considerable fortune that enabled him to begin his researches and provided resources for his unbounded charity later on. Soon after his appointment he compiled for the use of his pupils a treatise on Electricity (*i.e.*, static or frictional electricity) and Galvanism (voltaic or current electricity), a model of scientific exposition, in which he gives many interesting illustrations of theoretical principles. He revised the College textbook of Geometry and Trigonometry, written by the Abbé Darré, a former Professor, and " his own prelections, which were circulated in MSS. amongst his students, embraced the special difficulties of every portion of their extensive course of studies." Unfortunately, no copy of " his own prelections " has come down to us.

Callan occupied the Chair of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy for a period of nearly forty years. As a professor he is described as a model of exactness in the discharge of every duty. When, in consequence of excessive labours, the insidious cerebral disease, to which he finally succumbed, began to appear and compelled him first to moderate, then to interrupt his private researches, his pupils good-humouredly complained that they never benefited by the uncertain state of his health, even to the extent of a single " free-class." Illness, however, forced him to suspend completely his professorial duties during part of the academical year 1849-50 and again in 1850-51. He returned from Rome in 1851 with his health somewhat improved, but he never sufficiently recovered to undertake severe or protracted application to study.

And yet his record in the dozen years of life that remained to him is no mean one. He still experimented, he still contributed to the scientific periodicals. He maintained friendly intercourse, by word and letter, with eminent scientists at home and abroad. He constructed improved Callan Coils for many distiguished scientists, amongst others for the Earl of Rosse, the constructor of the famous telescope. When death surprised him, he was engaged in preparing an induction coil of gigantic dimensions for Mr. Grassiot, Vice-President of the Royal Society. The fatal illness began when he was discharging one of the duties of his sacred ministry. During Confessions in the College Chapel, on January 2nd, 1864, he was struck with apoplexy. Twelve days later a fatal stroke withdrew him from this life.

We have two pen pictures of Dr. Callan. One of his distinguished pupils, Dr. Lennon, recalls " the old lecture hall with its blackboard and the little man, chalk in hand, vigorously at work in front of it . . . the central figure . . . the aged Professor . . . whose childlike simplicity and saintly example could not fail to make a lasting impression on all." And Canon Johnston : " A small, dark, delicate man, with a sweet and amiable countenance, his outward appearance revealed the true marks of his inward character—saintliness, simplicity, humility and self-effacement."

Callan, like most scientists, had a sense of humour. Dr. Patrick Murray paid him a visit one day in the Science Hall about the time a new author, Charles Dickens, was becoming world-famous, and asked Dr. Nicholas Callan if he had ever read *Nicholas Nickleby*. " No," retorted Callan, as he continued working at his new electro-magnetic motor, " nor Paddle-ass Paddleby either."[1]

With his humour, however dry, Callan combined Jansenistical scrupulosity. Fearing to encourage vanity in his pupils, he would avoid praising them, no matter how well they answered his interrogations in class or at examinations. When on one occasion he received brilliant replies from a pupil and an involuntary " Very good, indeed, Mister," was

[1] [All footnotes will be found at the end of the article.]

wrung from his lips, he immediately recovered and added : " But not as good as you think, Mister." Before beginning Mass in the poverty-stricken Presentation Convent he would invariably enquire : " Are the candles wax ? Are the candles wax ? "

After his death his grave remained without a memorial for forty years until Cardinal MacRory, who was then Professor of Sacred Scripture and Hermeneutics, organised the clergy of the Archdiocese of Armagh and erected the stately monument that stands to-day over his grave in the College cemetery

The scientific life of Dr. Callan is best considered in three periods. The period of greatest activity and most important discoveries began on his appointment to the Staff of the College and lasted to about 1840 (what we might call the pioneer period, while remembering that Callan never ceased to be a pioneer).

It is the dawn of modern electricity. Oersted in Oslo has found that electricity in motion produces magnetism ; Faraday in England, Ampère in France, and Henry in America, are finding that magnetism in motion can produce electricity. But so far all effects are small, so small that even if a well-informed man in the street knows of electro-magnetic induction, he merely shrugs his shoulders and says : " It's of no consequence : the philosophers have found a new toy to play with : it can have no bearing on every-day life."

The young professor, Nicholas Callan, thinks otherwise. He dreams about, and envisages the possibilities of this new phenomenon, electro-magnetic induction, child of the changing whims of immaterial, mysterious parents. He will study this feeble force and learn how to strengthen and apply it, so that it will become common and useful to mankind, while retaining its ineluctable mystery. But first he needs plenty of electricity in motion, he needs intense and cheap electrical currents. He builds his first battery, obtaining electricity at the expense of chemical energy. In the search for bigger and cheaper currents he investigates the effects of internal and external resistances, divided circuits, grouping of cells in series and in

parallel, and appears to have discovered independently the fundamental law of all current electricity—Ohm's Law. For convenience of manipulation and to economise time in these experiments, he devises a mercury-interruptor-board, or combination-switch—prototype of all electrical switch boards, examples of which are to be seen in every laboratory in our own day. Next he tests the strength of his new battery on an electro-magnet. He begins with a straight bar of iron, around which he winds copper wires carefully insulated. When the current from his battery flows along the copper wires, the iron bar becomes a powerful magnet.

For bigger and better results, he takes fifteen stone of iron and shapes it horse-shoe fashion, with the aid of his assistant, the Village Blacksmith; he coils thick insulated copper wire in various circuits round the iron poles and sends the current through. An iron bar is attracted with such force that it defies the efforts of his most robust students to remove it. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (8th edition), in describing this electro-magnet as phenomenal even as late as 1860, attributes to it a lifting power of 19 tons. The current from Callan's new galvanic battery enables 15 stone of iron to lift 200 times its own weight!

The First Magneto

But this is mere exhibitionism, says Callan. Let us do something really new and important. He winds thirteen hundred feet of fine insulated wire round the thick copper wire of the electro-magnet, joining one end of thin to one end of thick: he persuades a student to hold the free ends of the thick and thin wires in his right and left hand respectively and sends a current round the thick wire. When he breaks the circuit, the student convulses and howls; he has received a shock, an electrical shock, from the first magneto ever made. I wonder if the anonymous student, as he spent the night in the infirmary, had a nightmare in which he saw himself a pedestrian in O'Connell Street in 1936, panic-stricken at the rush of speeding motor-cars, whose powers to mutilate and kill depend on Callan's invention of the magneto.

Callan is not content with shocking a student with the current from one cell. He is anxious to investigate the effects of two or more cells. No mechanical voltmeter exists, but Callan is not daunted. He asks for human voltmeters and—so great is the folly of his students, or so keen is their interest in the advancement of science—rash volunteers step forward to try the most up-to-date form of scientific torture. With these human instruments Callan studies the magnitude of the shocks caused by increasing the battery power. He finds that within certain limits the induced electric pressure is proportional to the battery strength and adds: "with fourteen cells the shock was so strong that the person who took it felt the effects for several days." He then prettily complains: "I could not induce anyone to take the shock from the electro-magnet when a greater number than sixteen of our large plates was used." We burn with curiosity to learn what happened the pupil who took the fifteen- and sixteen-cell shock, but Callan passes swiftly on to something more important for science, if not for human curiosity. (In this connection it is said that Archbishop Walsh nearly escaped being Archbishop of Dublin: he once acted as Callan's voltmeter.) Callan tries the effect of a longer thin winding (10,000 feet) and in the presence of three hundred students, using a 280-cell battery, performs many striking and important experiments. He electrocutes a small fowl. (One of the earliest electrocutions on record.) His apparatus is sufficiently powerful to produce vigorous sparks—miniature lightning flashes. He is the first to produce a spark at "make" as well as at "break" (he notes, of course, that the "make" spark is weaker than the "break" one) and the first to prove that the shock current as a whole is useless for getting "mixed gases" (hydrogen and oxygen) from slightly acidulated water. (First clear implication of the existence of alternating currents.)

Principle of the Transformer and Induction Coil

Callan next discovers that he can separate completely the relatively few windings of thick wire (the primary coil)

from the larger number of windings of thin wire (the secondary coil) and get enhanced results.

This discovery is truly epoch-making in the history of modern electricity. Callan has now discovered the principle of the static transformer and induction coil, the foundation of all high-tension, high power electricity. One would require volumes to describe the importance, the consequences, the implications and applications of this discovery. The Shannon Scheme—X-rays—Wireless, to give but a few examples, were impossible of achievement but for the discovery of a method of producing plentiful supplies of high-tension electricity. Somebody else would eventually have hit upon the principle of the transformer and induction coil if Callan had not, but it was Nicholas Joseph Callan of Maynooth who made the momentous discovery. Let us refuse to forget the fact.[2]

Callan not only discovered the principle, but he discovered the most important refinements that improved the practical use of the principle. He must have seen deeply down into the obscure phenomenon with the clear eye of genius that at a glance finds the practical solution of differential equations whose complexity baffles the ingenuity of mathematicians. Callan realises that the speed with which the primary current is interrupted must affect the induced electric pressure in the secondary circuit. So he invents his "repeater" or rapid interrupter with which he can interrupt the primary current four thousand times a minute. He experiments on iron cores of various shapes and dimensions—horse-shoe, straight, square, circular, etcetera—with a view to improving the efficiency of the instrument. He inspires Bacchoffner to substitute bundles of wire for solid iron cores. (Bacchoffner generously acknowledges his debt to Callan in *Sturgeon's Annals*, vol. ii, 1838, p. 207.)

Callan sent a copy of his induction coil to Sturgeon in England, who exhibited it at the Electrical Exhibition in London in 1837, where it obtained immediate notoriety and fame. The young bloods about town and their ladies congregated around Callan's small machine and shrieked and jumped as they one after another got shocks from it. More

serious-minded observers went away deeply pondering the wonders of high-tension electricity. The reign of modern electricity had begun, and Nicholas Callan had been chiefly instrumental in putting it on its throne. Clarke's first medical coil, the machines of Bacchoffner, Sturgeon and countless others were directly inspired by this model. (Cf. Fleming: *loc. cit.*, p. 9.)

CALLAN'S ELECTRO-MAGNETIC ENGINES. 1836-1842

Callan's remaining researches of this period had not such a triumphal termination, though like the labours of all pioneers, they smoothed the rough ways for those who came after him, and indicated the paths to be avoided. He attacks the problem of converting electro-magnetism into a motive power, drawing energy from primary cells. The first experiments are promising. By 1836 he has constructed three kinds of electro-magnetic engine or motor. The principle is simple, the application difficult.[3]

He finds that with one electro-magnet he can turn a wheel weighing 100 lbs., and with six electro-magnets impart rapid motion. He has a measure of success with his motors. A writer speaks of "the startling sight witnessed by the young students of Maynooth, who see a machine of Callan's move itself about the floor of the Science Hall, fifty years before the event of the automobile outside."

Callan is optimistic: in 1837 he writes "I propose to construct an electro-magnetic engine that will do the work of one or two horses . . . from my experiments to date I conclude that with a battery of six square feet of zinc, my engine containing 40 electro-magnets will propel at the rate of 7 or 8 miles per hour a 13-cwt. carriage. An engine as powerful as the steam engine on the Kingstown Railway could be constructed for £250: it would weigh less than two tons and the annual expenditure would not exceed £300." Thus as early as 1837 Callan is thinking of substituting electro-magnetism for steam![4]

In 1840 we find him, in *Sturgeon's Annals*, claiming priority of invention of different types of electro-magnetic motor.

He enumerates the different kinds of engine he has made and sent to scientists in various parts of the world, as far away as India (for instance to Dr. Carew, Bishop of Madras and friend of Callan). He has constructed motors for producing circular and rectilinear motions, the latter having a stroke of, if necessary, 10 to 20 feet (an outstanding achievement for the period).

But the second law of Thermodynamics—with the irritating aid of mechanical difficulties, attacks of illness, and the chaff of his colleagues—is to defeat him. The energy from his batteries is not sufficient to transport economically both the batteries and the heavy motor. The frame of his two-ton engine constantly breaks down under the weight of iron it carries. The iron betrays disagreeable qualities, disappointing coercivity, perverse retentivity, violent hysteresis. He has—he is bound to have—trouble with his interrupters (the trouble resembles that experienced by the amateur who attempts to time the magneto of a motor car). The requisite niceness of adjustment exceeds the technical skill of the age represented by the Village Blacksmith. The greater the difficulties, the harder Callan works. The difficulties are not lessened by the teasing of his colleagues—harmless and good-humoured though it be. Callan works too hard, and is rewarded by further disappointments and violent headaches. At last he has to admit defeat : he has failed to replace steam by electro-magnetism. Follows reaction : the taunts of Jansenistical colleagues have begun to tell. Callan has been devoting too much time to science and its mysterious forces, too little to the more mysterious forces of religion. He must change all that. Henceforth he must reverse the rôles.

Second Period—1842–53

We have come to the second period of Callan's scientific life. These are famine years in Ireland, famine for body and for soul. Callan is more than liberal in his charities, and continually gives money to the Presentation Sisters to provide food and clothing for the poor of Maynooth. He makes provision for the spiritual hunger of the people by

supplying the cream of foreign religious literature. From an early period of his life as a professor he had devoted a portion of his leisure to translating popular ascetical treatises from French and Italian. Now, with the intense activity so characteristic of the man, he spends from seven to nine hours a day at this laborious occupation, in addition to carrying out his professorial duties. The Maynooth College Calendar for 1853–54 gives the names of fifteen of the more considerable spiritual works of St. Alphonsus Liguori published during the period 1842-50. In addition Callan translated the works of the Abbé Gebbet and produced several smaller volumes. As evidence of the popularity of these translations, we note that the *Clock of the Passion* attained a sixth edition at an early date. For these publications he never accepted any pecuniary remuneration : he stipulated that his benefices as a translator be devoted to lowering the price for the poor, and that copies be given him for gratuitous distribution among the very poor, especially in his native diocese.[5]

Callan's scientific researches during this period are naturally restricted. He dots the i's and crosses the t's of Faraday's work on electrolysis, and shows that Faraday's famous laws are not directly applicable in all cases.[5a]

The Cast-iron Cell

Towards the end of this period he builds the famous cast-iron battery. Each cell consists of zinc, dilute nitro-sulphuric acid, porous pot, concentrated nitro-sulphuric acid and cast-iron, which served as positive element and container, thereby achieving a notable economy on all previous cells. The internal resistance of the cell is very low, and intense currents can be taken from it.

With these cells Callan constructed the largest primary battery ever made, comprising 587 units, totalling 96 square feet of zinc and 200 square feet of cast-iron, and containing 14 gallons of nitric and 16 gallons of sulphuric acid. With it he produced currents of an intensity never before obtained and unequalled until the event of modern dynamos. This prodigious battery was twice as powerful as the huge one

constructed at Napoleon's orders for the Ecole Polytechnique, Paris, and seven times more powerful than (and only a fraction of the cost of) Grove's great battery, which used 20 square feet of platinum.

In the presence of 300 students, Callan proceeded to test the effects of his battery on a very large turkey. Moistened tin foil plates were placed under the wings of the poor bird (the feathers had, of course, been previously removed), and the courageous person who held the unfortunate animal was insulated by very thick cloth. When contact was made, the turkey was killed instantly—*foudroyé*—the craw burst and the contents beat a tatoo on the ground. Next, a dazzling arc light, five inches long, was obtained between copper and brass terminals : the maximum length of arc between carbons could not be determined, as the cokes burned away too rapidly. At this point some of the porous pots burst and thick connections melted, so intense was the current and heat produced. Notwithstanding this interruption, further experiments were performed.

The intense currents obtainable from Callan's cast-iron cell gave it considerable vogue amongst scientists. Roberts made use of it for blasting purposes (the first time electricity was used in this way). Poggendorf in Germany, Sturgeon in England, de la Rive in France used it extensively in their researches.

Callan's health breaks down under the strain of excessive labours. The ardent worker is obliged to obtain leave of absence from the College several times between 1849 and 1851. After brief trials of a number of spas in France and Savoy, he spends portion of 1851 in Rome. On his return to Maynooth he ignores the unsatisfactory state of his health and plunges back into research.

Third Period—1853–64

Callan resumes his experiments on the effects of sending electric currents through conducting liquids (electrolysis). During these experiments he discovers that sheet iron coated with an alloy of lead and tin resists weathering and corroding agents more effectively than iron treated in any other fashion.

He patents the process. (The patent papers are still preserved in the College Museum.) He invents a new battery, the Maynooth Battery, in which the former cast-iron element is replaced by Callan's "galvanised" iron. For the intense currents he is experimenting with, he devises a new galvanometer, which is described in the *Philosophical Magazine*, 1854, as the only instrument yet made by which very intense currents can be measured.[6]

CALLAN'S RESEARCHES ON ELECTRIC LIGHTING

During his experiments on electrolysis, Callan conceives the idea of utilising electricity for lighting purposes. He begins a new series of researches, and devotes much time and ingenuity to them. He produces brilliant limelight by sending a current through acidulated water and discharging the evolved hydrogen and oxygen against lime—rather a dangerous experiment, by the way. He invents a foolproof voltameter and mixer for combining the gases without risk of premature explosion. He also discovers a method of producing a brilliant intermittent light by means of a small galvanic battery.

He eventually concludes that limelighting is not an economical proposition, so he attempts to produce brilliant and cheap lighting for city-streets and lighthouses by discharging electricity across coke points. But first he needs cheaper battery power. The success that crowned his efforts in this search is described in his article (*Phil. Magazine* 1855) "On a New Single Fluid Cell more powerful and less expensive in construction and use than any nitric acid cell." Its chief characteristics are low cost and small internal resistence: it gives intense currents cheaply. As a result of his experiments Callan concludes that a battery of 70-80 of these cells is the most satisfactory for running the arc-light. He closes the window shutters in the Science Hall and finds that the arc-light is sufficiently intense to enable a person to read the smallest print at the most distant part of the room. The running cost is 9d. or 10d. an hour. He has hopes of "this brilliant phenomenon becoming a practical reality."

It was not, however, until the 'eighties that any attempt

was made to put Callan's ideas into practice, when the City of Liverpool tried the experiment of using arcs for street lighting.

In his last series of researches Callan returns to the great child of his brain, the induction coil, to find that it has considerably improved with the years, but is capable of further improvements. He improves the automatic contact breaker [7] and investigates thoroughly the effect of condensers on contact breakers and on discharges from the secondary coil. He is the first to explain the action of the condenser. He finds iron wire preferable to copper wire in the secondary, but points out that iron wire used to strengthen conducting wire should be abandoned in constructing the remaining portion of the transatlantic cable, then being laid down. He invents a new insulating material and discovers the best way of winding secondaries to prevent short-circuiting between turns at different electrical pressures.

The number of perfections he introduces is so great that there comes a demand for his coils from scientists in various parts of the world, as Callan's improved coils are evidently superior to the coils now being extensively sold by a clever young mechanician in Paris, Rumhkorff by name.[8] The Physics Hall becomes a factory.

Callan's great coil (still preserved in the College Museum) remained for many decades the largest in the world. The secondary coil (in three sections for joining in series or in parallel) consists of 30 miles of fine iron wire. With three Callan cells on the primary, a 16 inch spark was obtained. With this coil Callan performed many experiments on sparking potentials and on the influence of the nature and shape of the electrodes on the character and length of the spark produced. He discovered a host of new phenomena, some of which baffle clear explanation to-day. He reproduced the bizarre freaks of lightning (for instance, using point and plate electrodes he gets some sparks to jump from the point to the *back* of the plate). He discovers a method of rectifying high tension alternating currents, which has been employed until quite recently (and is occasionally even yet employed) for suppressing

the reverse current in X-ray tubes.[9] Hence to Callan must go the credit of discovering the first electric valve.[10]

Callan and his work would appear to be better known on the Continent than at home. Modern French and German induction coils are supplied with point and plate electrodes for discharges, while most English instrument-makers supply only a pair of points. The organisers of the famous Electrical Exhibition in Berlin towards the beginning of this century requested the College authorities, I am told, to send Callan's giant coil on loan. On the other hand, Canon Carolan of Mellifont Presbytery, Drogheda, recollects being present in the Physics class in 1880 when Dr. Lennon read an extract from a French paper in which the author (a German, the Canon thinks), enumerates many of Callan's discoveries and cooly claims the credit of them for himself!

In conclusion let us pay tribute to the memory of Dr. Callan, man of small stature but of great courage and immense energy. Few moderns would care to risk handling the huge currents, judged even by present standards, which he drew from his batteries and the enormous voltages which he won by patient research from his coils. There can be no doubt about his greatness as a scientist. In his own special spheres of electro-magnetic induction, electro-chemistry and their applications, he holds a place apart. The importance of his pioneer work may be best appreciated when we consider that some of the phenomena discovered by him are still "mysteries of science." Let us, then, treasure the name of Nicholas Joseph Callan, scientist, inventor, saintly priest and bold pioneer, to whose failures as much as to whose successes the truly marvellous triumphs of electricity in our day are in no small measure due, and of whom not only Maynooth but Ireland should be proud.

P. J. MCLAUGHLIN

NOTES

[1] A slightly different version of this anecdote is given in "Memories of Father Healy of Little Bray," 2nd edition, p. 29.

[2] "Hence it is to Callan that we owe this simple piece of apparatus, now found in every physical laboratory [a thick wire bobbin sliding inside a thin wire bobbin for demonstrating the principle of electro-magnetic induction], and it is to him that we are

indebted for an induction coil having two separate wires " (Fleming, *The Alternate Current Transformer*, Vol. II, p. 12).

[3] In one form of Callan motor, the current is led to an electromagnet fixed near a wheel. The rim of the wheel carries iron bars regularly spaced. When the current flows, the magnet is energised, the nearest iron bar is attracted and the wheel rotates, but the current is interrupted as the bar passes the poles of the magnet. In virtue of its inertia the wheel continues to rotate, completes the circuit again, and the next iron bar is attracted, whereupon the cycle repeats itself.

[4] The first railway opened in Ireland was the short one, six miles long, between Dublin and Kingstown: it was opened for traffic in 1834. One cannot help calling attention to the striking parallel between the researches of Callan and those of Dr. Drumm in electro-chemistry and electrical traction.

[5] These translations of Dr. Callan continued to be published by Duffy until about 1896. In his introduction to the new edition of St. Alphonsus's works that year, the Rev. J. Magnier, C.SS.R., writes: " We profit of the occasion to express our deep sense of gratitude to the late Very Rev. Dr. Callan and the late Mr. James Duffy. God only knows the number of souls they have saved and sanctified by the publication of so many of St. Alphonsus's works. . . With, however, more opportunities than Dr. Callan had, we have undertaken to complete what he so well began."

[5a] Put two metal plates into a jam-pot half full of salt water. See that the plates do not touch, then join up to the positive and negative terminals of an accumulator. Gases begin at once to bubble off the plates. The gases are hydrogen and oxygen, the constituents of water, which has been decomposed by the passage of the electric current. Hence the name *electrolysis* (Gr. *luo*, loose) given to the process. The plates are called *electrodes* (Gr. *hodos*, path). If the experiment is tried with two copper plates in bluestone solution, the negatively connected plate, the *cathode* (Gr. *kata*, down), acquires a coating of bright new copper while the other plate, the *anode* (*ana*, up), loses an equal weight. The method is used in electroplating and in the preparation of pure metals such as " electrolytic " copper.

[6] I find Callan's galvanometer described in Becker's *Catalogue of Physical Apparatus*, 23rd edition, p. 230, as " Stewart and Gee's Tangent Galvanometer "!

[7] Du Moncel states in his *Exposé des Applications de l'Electricité* that MacGauley of Dublin invented, independently of Wagner and Neef, the automatic hammer contact-breaker, now used with all small induction coils and electric bells. It is reasonable to suppose that MacGauley was stimulated, like Sturgeon and others, by Callan's researches (Cf. Fleming, *loc. cit.*, p. 9), and MacGauley was probably present at some of Callan's lectures and demonstrations. (Cf. *Proceedings Royal Irish Academy*, Vol. VIII, p. 334).

[8] Ruhmkorff began to make induction coils only in 1851, while, " By the year 1840 the induction coil had been practically completed in all essential parts, with the exception of the condenser. The separate primary and secondary circuits of thick and thin wire, the divided iron core and the vibrating contact-breaker had been arrived at and perfected chiefly by the investigations of Callan, Page [in America], Sturgeon, Bacchoffner, Wagner and Neef " (Fleming, *loc. cit.*, p. 35). Even French writers, despite the force of Chauvinism, no longer claim Ruhmkorff as the father of the induction coil. (Cf. H. Ollivier, *Cours de Physique Générale*, tome premier, p. 503, who speaks of the " so-called Ruhmkorff Coil " —*bobine d'induction, dite de Ruhmkorff*).

[9] V. *X-Rays, Their Origin, Dosage and Practical Applications*, by W. E. Schall, Bristol, 1923, pp. 4, 13, 14, 15, 30.

[10] A valve is any device which allows a current to flow in one direction and prevents flow in the opposite direction. Familiar examples are bicycle-tyre valves and valves in common water pumps. Callan's electrical valve consists simply of two electrodes, one a point and the other a plane. (Cf. L. Jacob, *High Voltage Physics*, p. 64, Methuen.) Callan found that electric currents passed more easily from positive point to negative plate than from negative point to positive plate. I have seen a Callan valve and ordinary telephone ear-piece used at the Office National Météorologique, Paris, for receiving time signals radiated from the Eiffel Tower. The employment of point-plane valve and ear-piece was introduced by the late Professor Dongier.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT M'KENNA, S.J.

XXXVIII

PRAISE OF MARY

1. Múin dam do molad a Muire
mitid iomrád t'earla claoin
ní fagmaid cúir ad'd cúir molta
dod gnúir mallbuig corcra caoim.

2. A Muire a mátair an airdrígh
t' admolad fén forgáil orm
mé ret ocht go rab id rulla
a foit glan ar cuma corn.

3. Déana agus meabrócaid meire
do molad a mátair Dé
an teag i broil iul na n-uile
froiur don toig a Muire mé.

4. [Tuillead] do tabairt ar m'inntleacht
ar oircior dot earla tláit
orluig mo mén a Muire
dod céib dorbuig buide bláit.

5. [Do bair] fén tabair im teangaid
tabair cugam croide glan
tabair im béal ar aoi an uilcre
fgéal bur gnaoi duitre agus dam.

6. Fagaib fiotcáin dam ón Dúileam
dul dá tig go dtuille ar ngníom
biodba Dé ní an gum ionnlac
go rab fé go diomdach díom.

7. Sir a gcungnam gid tú ar threire
teaglac Dé ful deacar d'éag
clód mo cean ná cuir i gciana
guid an dá fear diadha déag.

8. Ag an Trionóid a-tá ar gcumar
mad cead lé mo leigin fuar
[gabam ód] leadroirn bán barrglan
clár breacgorm an talmán tuar.

9. Neimhiongnad gach ní dá n-iarrtar
d'fagáil uait a Athra mall
cúig cóir dod mholad a Mhuire
fagar glóir cuire fan gcrann.

10. Do labair ar lár do deilbe
dia dar bfortacht fada ó ulc
a dreach réid a chú nar caillead
tú féin nó aingeal ar t'ucht.

11. Do éirig Críost dod gnúis leadain
id lucht cogaid do chuir múit
do haithnead ann ort do gruamdacht
a folt cam na ndualdóloct ndlúit.

12. Do-chonncadar cách ag éirge
dot aghaid corcra cóir diad
foiléir do-chonncar ann t'fearta
a barr collcar feacta fiar.

13. Do mhala dub diadha an fiobal
fuar gur buail do barr mar chú
t'athra mall i mearg an fobail
a barr learg do chogaib tú.

14. Do coirg gér chruaid an fiaghail
dian peacad an fobail buirb
fa binn trát do guide an ghláitheoil
ir cách uile ag aitheod t'uird.

15. Éird ar nguide gab ar fíochtáin
finne cugad a clab nocht
déanad fíochtód a dearg dáithgeal
fearg fíochmór do haithnead ort.

16. Dualtear ir aithrige oirchior
octa geala dod gnúis buig
flior id teampal fe taob gealghlún
deargtar a faor dealbúr duid.

17. Breit do meic nocar mill t'ógact
a ingean Anna an fuilt tláit
ocht míora ir mí mar gac dtoiṁciol
do bí lora id broinnċneap bláit.

18. do-géabha leat ran luan oṁróraic
a airdri nime ní ar lia
an ríog banóg ar do breitre
ramór 'r ní mór deitre a Dia.

19. [Ionann] gac mac ir a máthair
a Muire óg adram díot
[ir] tú hé agus ir é tura
cruí Dé ní hé ar ura d'íoc.

20. Ní féadtar duit do díol molta
re máthair lora ir é ar nglór
[ród] ealad mín rionn ór fánaid
ór cionn fíl Adaim a óg.

21. Liontar leo leabaid na hóige
aingil nime na naoi ngrád
[nach] leaga an cuire gan ceola
leaba luige reola rám.

22. A deagainm ir í ré n-iodnaib
óg ní ar a éir mar rug Dia
ní goirte fear don móir málla
'r ní cóir bean do rádha ria.

23. Mairg do braicfead mac mná innte
uaman mar é mairg nach tuig
ri gá cleic ir ar tí a teicid
gur teic rí ran mBeitil mbuig.

24. Ad leanmain nír luagail tarba
teaglach lorudid éirgid riad
do bí an rluag ag rúr bar rliochtraoin
rún truag ó nar b'iontaoib iad.

25. Buime cíog an Coimdead tura
tú máthair Dé do dealb neam
ríom do gniom uile ní féadfam
ir ríom duille géagcrann ngeal.

26. A ḟíon ar nar imtiġ [truaillead]
A tonn báidte broillaiġ cuain
A dreaċ ġoirte nar ġab orċra
A ḟoiċne ġlan toiċa tuair.

27. A ċroide rúin ríoġ an beatha
A bó bitbliocht nać bi diorġ
A ċnú miolla do mear abaid
A ċnear ríoġda ar ċadail Criord.

28. A éarġa ġruaiṅeal an tramṁaid
A ruib craob ar corcra gné
A ġéaġ fíona ar urrduirc úire
Ór cionn lubġuirt dúine Dé.

29. A ċomla catrać an ríċid
A rún tuiġear teanġta cloġ
A ġruan dearġ ar ndul 'n-a ceapcoll
A leargġ na rud mbreacdonn mboġ.

30. A linn nać tráiġeann re tearbać
A tonn ar treire a-tá ar muir
A donntaoib réid mar ġual ġoirte
dán méin fnuad [t'aiġte] 'r an ḟuil.

31. Mairġ téid ód teaġarġ a Muire
ir mairġ rlóġ nać reaċain t'ḟeirġ
tú an tóir ar tinne 'n-a leanṁain
a tinne óir dealbuiġ deirġ.

32. [An tír réaġainn] ar ioċt t'aoinṁic
ann fa-ríor ní roibe ar ġcuid
fearta a-nuar do-niad do ṁarcaiġ
ir iad tuar 'n-a ndaltaib duid.

33. Maiteaṁ dúinn a ndeaċaid tarainn
trócar tura a taob mar blát
an cioċ 'r an núr ad-ib Íora
rir i dtúr an ċíora ar cáċ.

34. [A] inġean Anna aġur laiċim
[a] ór bruinnte a béal mar ḟuib
mac Dé bi do bi dá ġuide
do bi ré a Muire ar do muin.

35. A dealb na Trionóide tabair
teagarg dam do díol mo cáir
noca mbia tréan fir nac tiocfa
ir lia ná an féar t'fiorta ór fáir.

36. Dí leam ná lean ar mo díomar
a dealb Eoin Bairde ar beo lat
[noca] rgéal rgeoil ag gac duine
tréan Eoin a Muire ar do mac.

37. A dealb Mícíl meire cugad
cuir dá-firid fiom do caoin
géma dú tagra ní tarba
['r] tú ag agra anma gac aoin.

38. A Pádraig a phríomfáid Eireann
ainic finne faor gac neac
duit ar dú feiteam ar bráta
tú ar mbreiteam bráta ar an mbiot.

39. Orduig dam díocur mo ciontа
a Colum Cille a cré glan
a coillbile úr or feadaib
mún oirbire [deamain] dam.

40. A Criord a ceann gac fobail
dom peacaib tall tabair t'úid
a cnear glan do fóir an uile
an cóir dam ar Muire múin.

Múin.

Translation

1. 'Tis time for me to praise thee, O Mary, to tell of thee with thy wavy hair : in thee with thy gentle soft bright face I find naught but cause for praise.

2. O Mary, mother of the High King, order me to write thy eulogy, so that thou mayst have me before thee on thy list, O maid whose hair has the sheen of goblets.

3. Tell me thy glories and I will learn them by heart, O mother of God ; direct me, O Mary, to the palace whereunto all men should go.

4. O maid of soft hair 'twere proper for thee to increase my understanding ; open my heart, O Mary, to thee with thy luxuriant soft golden locks.

5. Place thy hand (?) on my tongue ; give me a clean heart ; owing to my evil nature give my lips to tell a tale pleasing to both thee and me.

6. Win my pardon from the Creator ; may my deeds deserve entry into His palace ; God's foe never ceases to attack me ; may he be disappointed in me !

7. Implore God's friends, the Twelve Apostles, though thou art the greatest of His friends, and ask them to help me ere I die ; do not put off the blotting out of my sins.

8. If the Trinity—and the Trinity has all power over me—let me ascend to Heaven, may I get at thy white fair-fingered hand (entry to) the blue-speckled floor of the world above.

9. Not strange that I get from thee all I ask, O stately-eyed maid ; good reason to praise thee is the sound of the voice thou didst lend to the (statue of) wood.

10. Once from out a statue of thine, O smooth-faced maid, O fruit unblemished, thou thyself or else some angel for thee didst utter words—what a (wondrous) way to keep us from evil !

11. From thy comely face there came a flame that paralysed thy foes ; clear to see then was thy anger, O maid of wavy close-tressed locks.

12. All men saw a flash of fire coming from thy bright face ; clear to see was thy power, O virgin of plaited flowing curls.

13. Standing before the folk, thou, O majestic maid, didst raise thy dark eyelash and stately eyelid—wondrous sight !—till they touched thy brow round as nut.

14. Punishment—so stern !—checked the sin of the proud folk ; though all had been challenging thy honour, sweet was the prolonged music of the folk while supplication was being made to thee.

15. " Listen to our prayer ; receive our submission ; behold us appealing to thee, O maid of flowing locks ; may it pass away, that terrible anger seen on thy face, O fair ruddy-faced maid."

16. Then—fit penance !—in supplication to thee, O mild-faced, noble, comely maid, white breasts are struck and bodies and knees are made to bleed in thy temple.

17. Thy Son's birth hurt not thy virginity, O soft-haired daughter of Anne ; for nine months like any other babe Jesus lay in thy fair womb.

18. Owing to Thy birth, Thou, O Lord of Heaven, shalt find on the great Monday ever more virgins, many of them—yet not many enough to satisfy Thee.

19. A son and his mother are always one ; He is thou and thou art He ; to thee, O Virgin Mary, I cling ; 'tis hard (for me alone) to atone for Christ's blood.

20. What I say to Jesus' mother is :—" Due meed of praise can not be given thee ; thou art over Adam's race as a smooth bright gliding of a swan over a cascade."

21. The Angels of the Nine Orders fill the couch, that blessed childbed, of the Virgin so that their company may not leave it without music.

22. Before her childbirth she had the glorious title of Virgin, and after it too when she brought forth God ; one may not speak of a husband of the great stately maid, nor is she to be called a wife.

23. Woe to anyone who would think her Son to be a (mere) wife's son ; woe to him who understands not what was her terror in fruitful Bethlehem when she was hiding Him ready to flee at any moment, and finally had to flee.

24. Herod's folk rose up to pursue thee—vain effort ! they were tracing your footsteps ; dread was their purpose, making them dangerous.

25. Thou art the foster-mother of the Creator, mother of God maker of Heaven ; I can not tell thy deeds ; to attempt it were to count the leaves of blossoming branches.

26. O wine unsoured, O wave overflowing the bay-strand, O radiant face unshadowed by gloom, O bright grass on green hillside.

27. O heart beloved of the Lord of the world, O mother of unfailing breast, O bright apple of ripe crop, O queenly breast wherein Christ slept.

28. O moon bright as summer sun, O purple glowing berry, O vine-branch of wondrous sap standing highest in the vineyard of God's palace.

29. O gate of the Heavenly palace, O heart that understands what church-bells say, O sun setting red after its circuit, O hillside of ripe coloured fruits.

30. O lake undried 'neath any sun, O sea-wave strongest on the sea, O maid whose skin is smooth and glowing, to whom is natural the beauty and the blush on thy face.

31. Woe to him who departs from thy teaching, O Mary, and woe to all who avoid not thy wrath; thou art most strong to pursue thy foes; thou art as an ingot of well-wrought red gold.

32. The splendid land (?) at thy Son's disposal—alas! that I have had no share in it! thy champions work their miracles from Heaven where they are thy pupils.

33. Thou, O fair maid, art merciful; thy breast and the milk which Jesus drank mean the pardon of all our shortcomings; ask that they be taken as the first payment of the world's debt.

34. O daughter of Anne and Joachim, O gold refined, O berry-red lips (remember that) God's Son once had to ask thy service and was borne on thy back (in the flight to Egypt).

35. O image of the Trinity give me instruction in return for my plea (to thee); there shall be no (evil) strength which thou canst not check; more numerous than grass-blades are thy wondrous powers whence it (the Trinity) came to us.

36. Stand by me, punish not my pride, thou who art so like to John Baptist who now lives with thee; well the whole world knows that John has power to move thy Son.

37. O image of Michael, I flee to thee; embrace me lovingly; though I make my defence it is useless when thou bringest charges against all men's souls.

38. O Patrick, great Prophet of Erin, defend us, save us all; thy duty is to guard our interest; thou art our judge at the Judgment of the world.

39. Arrange for me to blot out my sins, O Colum Cille of noble stock; thou tree oertopping the wood, teach me to affront Devil.

40. O Christ, Lord of all men, think of my sins (brought up) at Judgment; O fair body, Saviour of the world, teach me for Mary's sake the way of justice.

Notes

MS.: H 3 19 f. 32. Readings departed from are noted below. No Author's name is given.

1*d* ȝc. ȝc. 2*c* ɲeʊtoċt. 3*a* ʊénaıʊ ıꝛ. *d* teaȝ. 4*a* tuille "thou deservest" might stand; mınʊteaċt *b* ʊoʊ teaꝛꝛla. *c* a syllable short. *d* nʊ. mb. mb. 5*a* tabuıꝛ. 6*d* ʊıomȝaċ. 7*c* cloȝ. *d* ʊıaȝʊa. 8*c* ȝo ngabuıʊ aʊ. 9*d* ꝓoʊaꝛ; ꝛa cꝛ. 10*a* *leg.* a láꝛ? 11*c* haıċnı (n overlined). 12*a* eıꝛȝıʊ. *b* cóıꝛ with *gen.* "proper, natural, amount, size, kind, &c. of"; *cf.* Poems of Tadhg Dall 9. 20; *Irish Monthly*, 1920, p. 598, v. 40; ʊán ʊé xx 21; ʊé "fire," "flash" applied to eyes. *cf.* Leabhar Cloinne Aodha Buidhe xxiv, l. 115, xxvii l. 38; Poems of Tadhg Dall 11 25. *d* ꝑeaca. 13*a* mal-. 14*c* -ċeoıl *d* aıtċeoıʊ. 15*c* ꝓıoʊloȝ. 16*c* templ- 18*c* aꝛ "owing to" as often or aꝛ ʊo b. "obedient to Thee" of Poems of Philip Bocht 13-38. 19*a* MS. illegible. Reading very doubtful. 20*c* ꝛaʊ e. m. ꝑ. óꝛ ꝑ. The stanza is marked "ꝑéaċ"; translation is doubtful, ealaʊ may be from eala, ula, "a tomb" &c. 21*c* níꝛ; ċuıꝛe. 22*b* aꝛ eıꝛ. 23*b* tuȝ. 26*a* naꝛ ımıʊ tꝛuaılle (or tailte). 29*a* Rıoȝċoıȝe. 30*d* hacı (a overlined) ꝛa ꝓuıl. 32*a* ıꝛtꝛaoȝum, but MS indistinct. *b* ꝓoıb. 33*c* a c ꝛa núꝛ. 34*ab* a not in MS. 35*d* aꝛ ꝛaꝛ 36*c* ní, which gives a syllable short. 37*d* ıꝛ. 38*d* ıꝛ tú; aꝛ a mb. 39*d* ʊeaȝbuın.

SAINT PATRICK'S PURGATORY IN SPANISH LITERATURE

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WHEN planning this study I intended it to be simply a documented account of the St. Patrick's Purgatory Legend and the part it has played in Spanish literature. There seemed to be in this direction a field unexplored by any Irish or, for that matter, foreign writer. The amount of material available concerning the Legend in Spain and the prominence given to it in writings of various kinds from the thirteenth century to the present day promised a bountiful reward to anyone sufficiently interested to study the subject in detail. What I did not realise, and could not have hoped for, was that in the course of this work I should find what I believe to be the manuscript from which Philip O'Sullevan Beare took his account of the voyage of Perellós to Lough Derg in 1397.[1] This manuscript, hitherto unknown or unnoticed of commentators, is doubly interesting in that it settles once and for all certain points which have given cause to some critics to censor the Irish historian—unjustifiably, as I now hope to show. Before entering into a discussion of this point it is however necessary, in order more fully to appreciate the value of the manuscript and its place in the Spanish literature around this subject, to glance briefly at the history of the Legend in Spain.

The story of the origin of the Lough Derg Pilgrimage is simple, when considered apart from the legends which surround it. There have been many minor controversies as to the authenticity of the place and the veracity of these legends. The facts can never be verified concerning it, but it is more than probable that St. Patrick, retiring to the island for prayer and penance, hallowed it in the eyes of the people. By the time we have any written records the visions are so complex

[1] *Historiae Catholicae Iberniae Compendium* (Lisbon, 1621).

and so manifold that the tradition behind them is obviously one of lengthy evolution. Probably St. Patrick, while in this retreat, was granted a vision of the world to come and, by using the story of what he had seen to illustrate precept or sermon, thus laid the foundations of the legend. This, aided by the pious belief of subsequent ages, with here and there a similar glimpse granted to some holy man or a more fearsome one imagined by the over-excitable, would slowly but surely build up the legend till it travelled to the farthest limits of the land—and even beyond, for by the fourteenth century the fame of St. Patrick's Purgatory had spread over Europe.[1]

In the middle of the twelfth century one Owen, a knight of Irish extraction, came to Lough Derg to do penance for an extraordinarily misspent life. Having withstood the temptations of the cave and returned to this world (which many failed to do), he remained on the island as a monk. Very shortly after this pilgrimage a Cistercian known to us as Henry of Saltrey wrote down the whole story of Owen's adventures on the island as related to him by a confidant of the ex-knight himself.[2] This first written account of the Purgatory forms the basis for every subsequent one, no matter what its character (fiction or fact) and no matter what the country to which its author belongs. It was copied and retold times without number and in almost every European language. Endepols in his *St. Patricius' Vaagevuur*, written in collaboration with Verdeyen, speaks of manuscripts and books on the Purgatory in twelve languages: French, Breton, Castilian, Catalan, Italian, English, German, Swedish, Polish, Checoslovakian, Hungarian and Dutch.[3] As all these are

[1] European visitors to the cave during the fourteenth century include:
1325—The Sire de Beaujen. (French).
1353—Georges Chrissaphan. (Hungarian).
1358—Niccoló de Breccaio. (Italian).
Louis d'Auxerre. (French).
1397—Ramón de Perellós. (Spanish).
1399—Raymond Ugolino. (Italian).
Of Perellós we shall have much to say later.

[2] This confidant was Gilbert de Luda, a monk from Louth in Lincolnshire, for whom Owen acted as interpreter when he came to found a monastery in Ireland.

[3] *Tondalus Visioen en St. Patricius' Vaagevuur*, by R. Verdeyen en J. Endepols (Gent, 1914).

directly or indirectly due to the Saltrey manuscript, it may be well to understand the form which this took. Opinions differ as to the exact contents of the original. As the copies extant contain many and varied interpolations, some authorities insist that the original contained nothing but the Prologue, the story of Owen and the epilogue, while others hold that there were some relevant anecdotes even in the original. The one thing which is definite is that in the Saltrey group of manuscripts we find eventually :—

(1) Prologue.
(2) Story about an Irishman who did not consider homicide a sin.
(3) Story of Owen's adventures in the cave, with two homilies introduced during the narrative.
(4) Six other tales, edifying and otherwise.
(5) Epilogue.

The two principal Saltrey manuscripts in Spain are the Latin MS. in the National Library in Madrid[1] and the Latin MS. in the library of the Escorial.[2] The first is an early thirteenth century MS.[3] which contains practically nothing except the actual story of Owen ; that is to say, it omits the anecdotes and homilies completely, and though the prologue is included the epilogue is not. The second is interesting from another point of view, in that it corresponds exactly in content and omission with the untraced MS. used by Marie de France in 1190, though owing to its date (early fourteenth century) it could not have been her original.

As well as these Latin versions of the Saltrey MS., we have other early ones both in Castilian and Catalan. In 1320 Father Ramón Ros de Tárrega made a translation into Catalan directly from the Latin. This is quite independent of the early fourteenth century Castilian text in the library in Toledo and is much more complete than the latter.[4] The

[1] Bib. Nac. de Mad. ms. 9783 fols. 122v-127v.
[2] Bib. de El Escorial num. T.I. 12 fols. 193v.-204v.
[3] Amador de los Rios has assigned this MS. to the twelfth century. (*Hist. Crit. de la Lit. Esp.* Madrid. 1863. Vol. III, p. 285).
[4] It is this Toledo MS. which Solalinde studied in his article for the *Homenaje* to Menéndez Pidal (Madrid 1927).

Castilian text had as its model a manuscript very similar to the Latin one in Madrid mentioned above, but it differs from it in the order of chapters and in other minor points.[1] It seems probable that this version emanated from the palace of Alfonso X, as it is included in a collection of works known to be written by the collaborators of the *rey sabio*.[2] It is obvious that these are not the only early Purgatory MSS. in Spain. There are many Spanish libraries whose wealth of manuscripts has never been fully catalogued; in many of these treasures may await the Irish student who can explore them. But these few suffice to show how important a place the Purgatory legend took in Spain even before Perellós made his way to Ireland in 1397.

Ramón de Perellós, Vizconde de Roda, is mentioned several times by the annalist Zurita and in the Archivos de la Corona de Aragón.[3] He was brought up at the Court of Charles V of France and on the death of this monarch passed to the Court of John I of Aragon. He came of a good Spanish family. His father was a friend of the king of France (hence Perellós's upbringing outside his own country) and received the dignity of Amiral de France from Charles V.

Perellós is repeatedly mentioned in both Zurita and the official archives; but these references tell us nothing of the character of the man, only details of his commissions on behalf of his king and others. We know the names of his children—two of whom, Ramón and Luis, accompanied him to Ireland—but we know nothing of his wife, not even her name. In 1378 we find Perellós in Cyprus with an Aragonese army, and it is significant that a letter from the king to his "noble and beloved counsellor" deals with a book on the Holy Land which the Queen of Cyprus was sending to John.[4] The latter wished the book to be transmitted by a person of good character, which Perellós obviously did as a later letter

[1] The order of Chaps. VIII to X is different, the Prologue and Chaps. II–III are omitted, and several passages are worded differently.

[2] Alfonso the Wise (el sabio), King of Castille and Léon, 1252-1284.

[3] See Zurita, *Anales de la Corona de Aragon X.* folios 395 et seq. and *Archivos de la Corona de Aragón* (A.C.A.) Regs. 1665, 1868, 1954 and 1955, from which I have drawn most of these details.

[4] (A.C.A.) Reg. 1812. fol. 69.

acknowledges receipt of it.[1] As we are more interested in Perellós's personal and literary doings than in his political activities, we may find a letter in the following year arousing our sympathies.[2] In this letter the king graciously informs our friend that he has annexed, for his personal use, "a beautiful book on Launcelot in French" out of the Viscount's library. His majesty took it while he was staying at Perellós's home during the latter's absence. Perellós was on familiar terms not only with his king, but from time to time we find references showing that he was also a favourite with the queen, and that this royal patronage was financially valuable to the Viscount is evidenced by the number of times mention occurs of the granting to him of lands and moneys.

We cannot wholly overlook the importance of Perellós's position in political affairs, as it shows him to have been the personal and often confidential messenger of King John. As such he attempted in 1386 to arrange a marriage between the King's daughter Juana (later Countess of Foix) and the Duke of Berri.[3] In the next year he went to Avignon armed with credentials to Pope Clement but really to meet the French King. That John relied to a considerable extent on the counsel of Perellós is shown by his oft-expressed anxiety to have the Viscount with him. But despite his position of favour, Perellós was no blind courtier who gave the advice desired by his sovereign. In 1388 the nobles objected to the luxury of John's establishment and to the fact that his household was run by a Valencian lady, Doña Carroza de Villargut. A formal petition to have this changed was made in the December of that year by a branch of the *Brazo Real* led by the Marquis of Villena, and Perellós was one of the nobles who protested. Yet despite this, in the following year (1389), John in a letter dated May 26th appointed Perellós Capitán General of Rosellon to defend that city against foreign invasion,[4] and he was later sent to the king of France to ask him to punish the nobles who took part in that invasion.

[1] (A.C.A.) Reg. 1745. Fol. 86. [2] (A.C.A.) Reg. 1657. Fol. 63.
[3] See (A.C.A.) Reg. 1759. Fol. 6 et seq. Juana married the Count de Foix on the 4th of June 1392, and on the death of John she and her husband claimed the throne of Aragon. [4] Cartas Reales del Reinado de Juan I, No. 378.

On the 13th of February, 1391, John at Zaragoza made Ramón Viscount of Perellós and Roda.[1] In the following year he was one of the leaders of the army to Sicily which aimed at placing the Infante Don Martin in possession there. According to Zurita, paintings of the nobles who took part in the expedition to Sicily were to be seen in the monastery of Montserrat, and that of Perellós was amongst them.[2] In 1395 the Viscount was sent to Cyprus to negotiate the marriage of John's sister, Isabel, with Iano de Luisinaño. This marriage did not take place owing to John's death. In 1395 we also find Perellós treating with invaders on behalf of Pope Benedict XIII, so that when he wishes to go to Lough Derg he has to ask special permission.[3]

In 1397 Perellós set out from Avignon for Ireland. His reason for the journey was to visit St. Patrick's Purgatory and satisfy himself, if possible, as to the fate of his sovereign in the next world. It might seem strange that a Spanish knight should undertake a pilgrimage to an Irish shrine for this purpose; but, as already noticed, the fame of Lough Derg was well known throughout Europe by this date. There is, however, evidence of a more personal reason than this for the Viscount's decision. We have preserved two letters of John in which he makes specific mention of the Purgatory.[4] One is a letter to Perellós in which the king requests him to send him "by reliable messenger" the story of Owen's experiences in the Purgatory, because he, the king, is "very anxious to know them." The other, written in 1394 to his daughter, the Countess of Foix, shows that Perellós evidently sent the MS. as requested, for in this letter the king mentions amongst other things that he is sending her "a book in which I have had transcribed the Purgatory of St. Patrick." So it is by no means strange that Perellós should undertake this particular journey for his king's sake.

Having satisfied ourselves as to Perellós's reasons for

[1] "En este año a treze del mes de Hebrero estando el Rey en Zaragoça, se dio titulo a don Ramon de Perellos, Vizconde de Roda, de Vizconde de Perellos, y se erigió aquel Vizcõdado; y de alli adelante se llamó Vizconde de Perellos y de Roda." Zurita. X. 400v.

[2] Zurita was born in 1512 and died in 1580.

[3] Zurita. X 414 v. and O'Sullevan 19.

[4] A.C.A. Reg. 1674. Fol. 106v. and Coroleu: *Doc. Hist. Catalans* 130.

coming to Ireland, we are however faced with another problem. We know his itinerary; he came by Paris, Canterbury, London, Chester and Holyhead to Dublin. It is a route such a pilgrim might follow to-day. We have still a record of the safe-conduct given him by Richard II.[1] In 1398 the pilgrim returned from Ireland and wrote his story, giving his adventures en route, his impressions of the Irish, his experiences in the cave, his interview with the spirit of King John. But did he ever reach Lough Derg at all? We are justified in asking the question in all seriousness. Perellós's narration of his experiences in St. Patrick's Purgatory is nothing more or less than a cool self-arrogation of the adventures of the knight Owen a century and a half earlier. Undoubtedly history does repeat itself, but such repetition as this looks a trifle suspect. There seems to be no reason to doubt that Perellós actually did reach Dublin. He probably got to Dundalk, where he describes his interview with the Archbishop. But his descriptions of O'Neill and his people seem definitely far-fetched—probably manufactured for him by the English of the Pale. He stresses greatly the advice he got in various quarters against venturing into the wild and lawless land of the native Irish. It seems very natural to suppose, in view of the nature of the rest of his writings, that Perellós took this advice to heart and drew on his imagination and previous knowledge for his description of an experience he did not undergo. It is strange that Irish critics have taken the portion of Perellós's manuscript referring to Ireland as gospel and that it has been left to Spaniards to express their scepticism on this point.[2] As Miquel y Planas points out, Perellós's version of Ireland is in accordance with the best traditions of his day where descriptions of far-off or mythical countries were concerned.[3]

This brings us to the most interesting part of this study,

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[1] Rymer's *Foedera*.

[2] Miquel y Planas, *Llegendes de l'altra Vida*, p. 300: "Evidentment, la descriptio de la cort del rei Irnel és una pura faula"; and Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela* Vol I, p. 184; "el apócrifo viaje del caballero Ramón de Perellós." It is interesting to note that the latter falls into the error of placing the journey in 1398, the date given in some MSS.

[3] Miquel y Planas *loc. cit.*

namely an investigation of O'Sullevan's account of Perellós's visit. For the account of the visit we can refer to various MSS. There are four principal texts: (*a*) a Langued'oc MS. of 1466, (*b*) a Catalan incunable of 1486, (*c*) a Castilian seventeenth century MS. which seems to have been copied from the Catalan, and (*d*) O'Sullevan Beare's account in Latin, which commentators up to the present have assumed to be taken from (*b*) above, in direct opposition to the author's own account of his authorities. Besides these four texts, Miquel y Planas in 1914 in his *Llegendes de l'altra Vida* published a most interesting Catalan MS. of 1486 found in the Escorial Library. As both (*a*) and (*b*), by a curious error, give the date of Perellós's visit as 1398 instead of 1397, it has been taken more or less for granted that O'Sullevan used one of these and intensified the error by changing the date to 1328. Fejóo, who (as we shall see later) tried to show the falsity of all the Purgatory Legends, waxes a trifle sarcastic on this point, remarking that according to O'Sullevan King John was in Purgatory not alone 77 years before he died but 22 before he was born! Even Solalinde, writing in a more circumspect age,[1] refers to O'Sullevan's "mistake in copying the date."

But there is in the National Library in Madrid, unnoticed of commentators and critics, a Castilian MS. relating to Perellós's visit. It is not mentioned in the general catalogue of MSS.—it is bound away with other matter—but it is a most significant MS. to the Irish student. The MS. belongs to the first years of the seventeenth century and bears the number 11087, with the further inscription Plut 111. Lit. M. N. 11.[2] On folios 97 to 137 we find the account of Perellós's visit to Lough Derg in the year 1328. Now this date in both this MS. and in O'Sullevan is given in words not in figures, so that the Irish historian was obviously copying a definite date, not just making a slip in his figuring. Such a discovery puts the searcher on the alert for further revelations. If we read carefully O'Sullevan's account of the source from which he took his story of Perellós, we find that the generally assumed version of his original is wrong. He states plainly, while

[1] 1927. [2] Duke of Osuna Collection.

referring to a Catalan original, that it is the Castilian work "by the unpolished translator" that he is about to render more elegantly in Latin. He also states that Perellós was buried in a convent in Perpignan, which statement, though not found in any other writer, is likely to be true, as we shall see presently. This, however, has not so far been proved by research. Now the opening words of this Madrid MS. are: "In the convent of St. Francis, of the town of Perpignan, is buried Don Ramon de Perillos y Rodas, Lord of the barony of Seret, and in the library of the said convent is a manuscript written in the Limosin tongue, copied by the master Brother Francisco Jimenez." O'Sullevan also refers to the works of Brother Francisco Ximenes, which makes us feel that there must at the very least be a family resemblance between this MS. and the one from which the Irish writer took his date and account of Perellós's visit. To go farther, there is no description of the trip through England in either O'Sullevan's account or in the Madrid MS., though such description is included in most manuscripts. Many writers have commented on the fact that O'Sullevan did not include Perellós's uncomplimentary description of the habits and customs of the Irish to which I have referred already. Some accuse him of leaving out this "interesting passage"; others explain his reticence as a natural exhibition of patriotism. The simple explanation seems to be that in the MS. O'Sullevan used this passage was not included; at any rate it is not contained in this Madrid MS. Taking all these considerations together, it does not seem over-bold to claim that this is the original MS. used by O'Sullevan. If it is not—and owing to O'Sullevan's admitted intention of "polishing" his original there is nothing to be proved by a close comparison of the two texts—it is at least the nearest approach to his original which has been brought to light, and it is immensely valuable since it removes definitely any slur of carelessness or false patriotism which had fallen on the historian. The slur of carelessness must rather fall on the numerous commentators who have so inexplicably insisted on O'Sullevan's *Catalan* original despite his own statement to the contrary.

In addition to the manuscript which I have just described and which has such interest for us, there is also in the same collection (the library of the Duke of Osuna) another Perellós manuscript—this time giving the date as 1398, the common error.[1] This is also a Castilian version, and strangely enough an earlier one than that used by O'Sullevan, for its date is 1544. The full title of this MS. is " Viaje maravilloso y digno de notar que hizo el Conde D. Ramón de Perellós á el Purgatorio de San Patricio que está en Irlanda, á donde halló á el Rey D. Juan de Aragón y otros conocidos suyos, por Fr. Francisco de Ojeda," which certainly seems to give a fair idea of its contents ! The title continues with an exhortation to the reader to give great attention to the work, as thus " it will be of great benefit to whoever does so."

On his return from Ireland Perellós attached himself definitely for some years to the court of Pope Benedict in Avignon. As he had been the personal messenger of John, so now he occupied the same capacity with the Pope and was sent to Paris in 1399 to inform the King that Benedict would abdicate if Boniface did so too.[2] In 1403 Zurita mentions Perellós as head of the city of Avignon. Five years later he attended the Pope at the council of Perpignan, and he was summoned thence in 1413 by King Ferdinand.[3] In 1415 we hear of him as again at Perpignan. These later facts are significant in view of O'Sullevan's statement that Perellós was buried in that city. The last mention of the Viscount's name is in a proclamation of Alfonso in 1415 summoning all nobles to come to him at Barcelona. We do not know whether Perellós came or not. He had lost one master through death, the rule of the other was over; there was, therefore, no further service for the counsellor and diplomat to render. Yet we have no record of his death nor any definite clue to his age, which is perhaps appropriate in the case of one whose personal character is so shrouded in obscurity. But we can scarcely over-estimate the value of his contribution to the

[1] Bib. Nac. Mad. 10825.

[2] See Alpartils: *Chronica actitorum temporibus domini Benedicti XIII* for this and all other details about Perellós and the Pope.

[3] Zurita XI 79.

fame of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Spain. His story—plagiarised, fictitious or authentic—gave a new impetus to the literature of Lough Derg.

After Perellós the next development of the Legend in Spain came in 1627, when Montalván published a small book called *Vida y Purgatorio de San Patricio.* This was founded on the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum* of Thomas Messingham, Superior of the Irish College in Paris; and as the latter took his account from the Saltrey story, so once again, even after Perellós, we have a Spaniard writing from the Saltrey MS. Juan Pérez de Montalván was the son of a Madrid bookseller, Alonso Pérez. This Alonso Pérez, who lived in the Calle de Santiago in Madrid, was the friend and confidant of Lope de Vega, as well as being the privileged editor of his works. The two young writers, the bookseller's son and the Phoenix of Spanish literature, were close friends, and Montalván is remembered above all for his biography of the dramatist. Both were interested in St. Patrick and his Purgatory, and at that time O'Sullevan was also in Madrid and his book in the hands of both the writers; so it would not be far-fetched to assume that the three were personally known to each other. Unfortunately so far we have no proof of this, however plausible the supposition may seem, unless we take Montalván's complimentary citation of O'Sullevan as a tribute to personal friendship.[1] The book was popular, as is proved by the fact that more than thirty editions of it were printed, and it was translated into many European languages.[2]

I mentioned that Lope de Vega was also interested in the story of Lough Derg. About this time was published *El Mayor Prodigio*, a play based almost entirely on Montalván's work. So in the early seventeenth century in Spain we have three writers, two Spaniards and one Irishman, treating the legend of the Purgatory from entirely different angles. Montalván's treatment is perhaps the most interesting, and has

[1] "Y muy doctamente don Felipe O Sulevano Bearro Hiberno en el compendio que hizo de la historia de Irlanda . . . . cuyo libro esta visto, examinado y aprouado por la santa Inquisicion de Portugal."

[2] It was published in French in 1637 and 1642; in Dutch in 1668; in Portuguese in 1738; and in Italian in 1757.

had a particular influence on Spanish literature. He takes as his central character one Luis Enius, to whom he ascribed the life-story of Perellós with the misdeeds of Owen, producing as his ultimate hero a thoroughgoing scoundrel. He goes further and for the sake of interest changes personages, turning Perellós's niece Aldonsa de Queralt, who was in Purgatory paying the penalty for vanity, into a cousin cloistered in a convent, whom the unfortunate Spanish knight finds himself obliged to carry off.[1] As Miquel y Planas, in his study of the St. Patrick's Purgatory Legend and its influence on Don Juan, says: "Who would have told the imprudent Viscount that in days to come he would have seen himself changed into an emulator or competitor of Don Juan?" But the most interesting feature of this case is that in the original Don Juan of Tirso published in 1630 (but written perhaps as early as 1615) there is no sign of any nun being stolen from her convent. After Montalván's work became generally known this became an integral part of the story. Also, we find in the original account of Owen's adventures that the knight is present at a funeral service held for himself before he enters the cave. This is not in the Tirso story, but from that on—for instance in Zorilla's *Don Juan Tenorio* published in 1844—both ideas are integral parts of the story.

We have still to mention what is perhaps the most important contribution of all. The great Spanish dramatist Calderón took St. Patrick's Purgatory as the theme of what has been acclaimed as his finest mystical work—*El Purgatorio de San Patricio.* As a basis for this play he took both Lope de Vega's *El Mayor Prodigio* and Montalván's *Vida y Purgatorio de San Patricio.* So once again we find poor Owen-cum-Perellós masquerading as Luis Enius, but this time the writer goes further in his desire to keep his work true to the spirit of the time . . . . in which he is writing, and Eithne and Fidelma become Lesbia and Polonia. These very minor changes do not, however, prevent Calderon's play from

[1] This niece, who died after Perellós left for Ireland and therefore surprised him by her presence in Purgatory, was lady-in-waiting to Juana, Countess of Foix, who mentioned her in a letter to Queen Violante: "No podía dormir hasta que Aldonza de Queralt tocó el arpa."

emerging as the masterpiece of the whole legend cycle in Spanish literature.

An admirable metrical translation of Calderon's play has been made by the late Denis Florence MacCarthy, who in addition to translating the play has compared it with the work of Montalván, showing how Calderon often followed the very wording of the prose writer. He also gives in the notes a series of extracts from Messingham's *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, the chief source for the work of both Montalván and Calderon. But perhaps the most important work on the subject done by the poet-translater is his painstaking examination of the authorities quoted by Calderon, no easy task owing to the liberties taken by the dramatist for the sake of both translation and metre.

Before leaving Calderon's play we may add that Shelley in his notes to the *Cenci* has a reference to it, stating that his passage descriptive of the chasm seen by Beatrice is the "only plagiarism which I have intentionally committed in the whole play." It would be interesting to know whether Shelley's interest in Ireland led him, through Calderon's play, to his interest in Spanish literature.

It must be remembered that during the time that Lough Derg was occupying such a prominent position as a subject for Spanish writers, it was not enjoying an untroubled existence as an actual place of pilgrimage. The stories surrounding it were not always in accordance with the spirit of prayer and penance which should have pervaded the island, and in 1497 Pope Alexander VI ordered the cave to be closed. This was done, it is believed, on the information given by a Dutch monk who had visited the place shortly before. The cave did not remain long under the ban of Rome, for six years later it was re-opened by Pius III; and the next attack upon it was launched, not by ecclesiastical superiors, but by the English government. Twice, in 1632 and in 1680, it was destroyed, but not until 1780 was the last closing of the cave.

Shortly before this, in 1778, Father Feijóo devoted over thirty pages of his *Teatro Crítico Universal* to a discussion on the Purgatory. His deductions are logical: that the legend

connecting the place with St. Patrick is probably founded on fact, but that the whole cycle of stories concerning visits to the other world and extraordinary tests of virtue is merely a pious fiction. Feijóo gives an accurate geographical description of the Purgatory, and it is an interesting fact that in 1778 he calls it Ellanu Frugadory, exactly the spelling given in 1722 by the English geographer Camden. He accuses Calderón of "disfiguring" the name of the soldier Owen and of using much poetic licence in his play. According to Feijóo there are two great proofs of the falsity of the Purgatory legends: (*a*) the affirmation that there is an intermediate place between Heaven and Purgatory; (*b*) the placing of an earthly Paradise under the ground. His comment on this second point is somewhat amusing: "Paradise without light is a chimera, and a Paradise that obtains light by a continued miracle (since in no other manner could it have light underground) needs revelation that it may be believed." He goes over the well-known controversial ground about the lack of more than traditional evidence down to a very late date, the confusion that exists concerning the two St. Patricks, and the impossibility of the island being confided to the care of Canons Regular some centuries before these were founded; but these are not questions within the compass of this article, though it is interesting to find an eighteenth century Spaniard studying them. His account of the visit of the Dutch monk is somewhat cynical. He describes the difficulty encountered by the monk of Eimstedde in entering the cave owing to his lacking money for the "tip" required before admission was granted, and that he came out "amid great wonder" having neither seen nor heard nor undergone anything out of the ordinary.[1]

In addition to this well-known work there is in the National Library in Madrid an anonymous eighteenth century manuscript which examines the authenticity of the cave according to the written accounts of it in the teachings of the fathers![2]

[1] Cf. Froissart's description (*Chroniques*, LXV 1392-1396) of Sir William Lisle's visit in 1395, when the latter and his companions slept and had dreams "such as they would not have had in bed," but experienced nothing more.

[2] Bib. Nac. Mad. 18723^{21}.

It seems to have been written by an earnest but unimaginative monk under orders from some superior authority; for he produces much evidence (going through a great number of ecclesiastical writers to see whether or not they mention St. Patrick's or any other Purgatory), but studiously refrains from drawing any conclusions.

The nineteenth century produced a novel, *El Purgatorio de San Patricio*, perhaps the only contribution needed to complete the literature on Lough Derg in Spain. This was purely an imaginative work, but other tales and some articles were also written during this period. In more modern times, however, the island again leaped into prominence when the eminent Catalan scholar Miquel y Planas not alone took the influence of the Purgatory of St. Patrick on the Don Juan Legend for his paper on admission to the Royal Academy of Letters in Barcelona in 1914, but also devoted two sectious of his *Llegendes de l'altra Vida* to Lough Derg, publishing both the story of Owen and the story of Perellós. For the latter he used, as I have said before, a manuscript from the Escorial Library which had not been previously published, though it forms a valuable addition to the easily accessible writings on the subject. I have also mentioned the manuscript published by Solalinde as his contribution to the *Homenaje* to Menéndez Pidal. This of course is a Castilian version, and it seems appropriate that both Spanish languages should have been represented in recent publications.

A few remarks, dealing not with the literary aspect of the tradition but with the popular, may not be out of place. There is a phrase still current in Spanish, "To endure the pains of St. Patrick," which seems to be a survival of the ancient days when the Purgatory was a part of the life of the nation. More interesting still, I have been pointed out in the Sierra de Gredos, not far from San Martin de Valdeiglesias, a cave "which stretches into *Portugal*" and is known as the Cave of St. Patrick. It seems more than likely that this Portugal is a corruption of Purgatory and that this is a local substitute for the distant place of pilgrimage.

PATRICK MACBRIDE

GEORGE FAULKNER AND LORD CHESTERFIELD

BY CHARLES O'CONOR, S.J.

IN a previous article in this Review (Sept. 1935) the story of George Faulkner was brought down to the death of his friend, Dean Swift, in 1745. By that date Faulkner's reputation was already well established, his friends numerous and influential. "His shop," says the *Hibernian Magazine*, "became the rendezvous of the friends of Ireland and of the most distinguished in Literature: and he continued to rise in eminence, esteem and affluence." [1] A good illustration of the truth of this statement is afforded by the fact that when in April 1744 a society, which took the name of the *Physico-Historical Society*, was founded in Dublin, George Faulkner was admitted as one of the foundation members. The object of this society was the promotion of historical study and research in Ireland with a view to removing, as those responsible for its foundation hoped, "the prejudices" under which Irish history laboured and of doing justice to the country.[2] Among the first members of the society, making twenty-eight in all, were Lord Southwell, the Protestant Bishops of Dromore, Cork and Clonfert, two Fellows of Trinity College, four of the leading doctors of Dublin as well as other distinguished clergymen and laymen.[3] The society met fortnightly, and its meetings were held in the Lords' Committee Room of the House of Parliament. At these meetings—and the fact is disconcerting for those who like to portray Faulkner as a typical upstart thirsting for

[1] *Op. cit.* an. 1775, p. 505.

[2] *Proposals for Collecting Materials for Publishing the Ancient and Present State of the Several Counties of Ireland:* and *An Account of the Rise and Progress of the Physico-Historical Society:* Halliday Tracts, R.I.A. Box 200, Tracts 8 & 10. *The Gentleman and Citizens Almanack* published by John Watson for 1746 summarises the objects of the *Physico-Historical Society* thus: "The design of this society is to collect Materials, in order to publish the Ancient and Present State of the several Counties of Ireland, in Descriptions, natural, civil, ecclesiastical, historical, chronological, etc., to shew how we have been misrepresented by Writers of other Countries and their gross Mistakes in respect to the Ecclesiastical and Civil State of this Kingdom. Secondly to find out means for the employment of Numbers of the Poor, for the Encouragement of Agriculture, by the discovery of Minerals or Materials for the manuring of land, etc." (p. 96).

[3] *Minutes of Physico-Historical Society*, R.I.A. MS. 24/E/28.

notice and display—Faulkner was less conspicuous for his presence than his absence.[1]

Faulkner may have taken himself unduly seriously and have been disdainful in some degree of the foibles of others, but he was certainly neither the sycophant nor the time-server that some have made him out to be. He was no fool either, as all but those who rely for their information on the very ungenerous sketch given by Richard Cumberland in his *Memoirs*,[2] will admit. For he built up a business in difficult circumstances and surrounded himself with friends without loss of either self-respect or good name. Though full of generosity and good-will there was little in George Faulkner's outward appearance to suggest the warmth of feeling which stirred within him. "His features," says his biographer in the *Hibernian Magazine*, "were manly, his countenance pleasing though grave, and his whole aspect not destitute of dignity." [3] A friend of earlier days, describing him more familiarly in a letter in 1747, says very much the same: "He has a solemnity of face that never alters; so that in his brightest or most gloomy hours he remains immoveable in countenance and appears a kind of talking statue."[4] But for all his unemotional exterior we are at the same time told that "he disdained not to take merit by the hand in whatever shabby vestements it was cloaked" and was ever ready to relieve distress as far as it was in his power.[5] Nor is this difficult to credit; for the number of appeals in his *Journal* on behalf of debtors in the Marshalsea Gaol, of people "in distress" of one kind or another, and of the poor in general is very striking and contrasts strongly with the columns of other papers of the time. That Faulkner's name should, moreover, be associated as early as 1744 with the founding of a society such as *The Physico-Historical Society* is early evidence of his readiness to support any movement which promised well for the country, a readiness which characterized his conduct all through life. Nor must it be thought that,

[1] *Ibid. passim.*

[2] Those only who read no more of Cumberland's *Memoirs* than the note upon Faulkner will be tempted to take this note at its face value; for much of what he has to say of his Irish experiences is so patently reckless as to be quite absurd.

[3] *Op. cit.*, p. 570.

[4] Lord Orrery–Thomas Carew, *Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 23.

[5] British Museum Eg. 201.

because he was absent from many of the society's meetings, he was but a half-hearted supporter. He did what a great many others did not do; he paid his fees regularly and also served the interests of the Society by giving prominence to its activities in his journal.

Lord Southwell was the first President of the *Physico-Historical Society*; but after little more than a year he was succeeded in office by Lord Chesterfield, who arrived from England as Viceroy in the autumn of 1745.

How Lord Chesterfield and George Faulkner first became acquainted is not on record. Possibly they had already met in England, or perhaps Lord Chesterfield had heard of Faulkner from friends there. Possibly the *Physico-Historical Society* had something to do with bringing them together. But however this may be, the two men were soon firm friends and Faulkner was a frequent visitor at the Castle, where it is said he was sometimes received in audience by the Viceroy when others of nobler station and more distinguished connections were kept waiting.[1] And as Lord Carteret, when asked how he had succeeded in governing Ireland, once replied that he had "pleased Dean Swift," so Chesterfield in later years confessed, though it is hard to know to what extent in jest or earnest, that he had as Viceroy been "governed" in many ways by Faulkner's advice.[2] In recognition perhaps of these hidden services or as a mark of esteem, he offered before leaving Dublin to obtain the honour of knighthood for his friend.[3] But George Faulkner had the good sense to refuse the offer, having no ambition for honours which neither his position nor his purse could support. He was none the less grateful for Chesterfield's generous offer, and as a parting tribute to him, when he was setting out once more for England in 1746, took the opportunity of dedicating to him the eighth volume of the

[1] *History of Dublin* (Gilbert) 1861, Vol. 2, p. 33.

[2] "From my time down to the present you have been in possession of governing the Governors of Ireland, whenever you have thought fit to meddle with business. . . ." (Chesterfield-Faulkner, July 1st, 1762). "For in truth I was the only Viceroy that you ever absolutely governed; but do not mention this because I am said to have had no favourite." (Same-Same, Feb. 7th, 1760).

[3] *History of Dublin* (Gilbert), p. 33; *Hib. Mag.* 1775, p. 567; *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Chesterfield* (Maty), Vol. 1, p. 316; *Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 23.

Works of Jonathan Swift, which was on the point of being published. Chesterfield's own acquaintance with Swift, apart from his writings, was slight,[1] and it was to him as patron of letters rather than as one of Swift's friends that Faulkner dedicated his book.

That the contents of the volume was not of much intrinsic worth was recognized by Faulkner himself; but he sought justification for publishing it on the principle that anything by Swift, however trivial, deserved to be made public, and there were certainly many in Ireland, at least, who accepted this principle. In his preface to the volume Faulkner drew attention to another of Swift's works, *A History of the Last Four Years of the Reign of Queen Ann*, which he said would be published later. Before it appeared, however, which was not till 1758, he had, by publishing in 1751 what one editor calls Lord Orrery's " shabby " *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. Swift*, left himself open to one of the most damaging charges levelled against him.

Lord Orrery's book was comparatively short and was written as a series of letters to his son. It was certainly not calculated to enhance Swift's reputation, for though towards the end an effort was made to redeem anything that had been said in disparagement,[2] the book on the whole contained less praise than blame. The appearance of the *Remarks* was greeted by an outcry from many of Swift's friends, and Faulkner was quickly taken to task for his share in its production.[3] But before being condemned he deserves to be heard,

[1] *Correspondence of Dean Swift* (Elrington Ball), Vol. 4, pp. 187, 185, 191–92, 196.

[2] " Throughout the course of these letters, I have freely pointed out to you all his (Swift's) faults, but I beg you to remember that with all those faults he was above corruption. A virtue in itself sufficient to cover a multitude of human failings, since from that virtue alone can flow prosperity to the commonwealth " (Letter 17).

" I originally chose the topic (*i.e.* Swift's life and writings), my dearest Hamilton, because few characters could have afforded so great a variety of faults and beauties. Few men have been more known and admired, more envied and censured than Dr. Swift. From the gifts of nature he had great powers, and from the imperfection of humanity he had many failings. I always considered him *an abstract and brief chronicle of the times*: no man being better acquainted with human nature both in the highest and in the lowest scenes of life. His friends and correspondents were the greatest and most eminent men of the age. The sages of antiquity were often the companions of his closet: and though he industriously avoided an ostentation of learning and generally chose to draw his materials from his own store, yet his knowledge in the ancient Authors evidently appears from the strength of his sentiments and the classic correctness of his style " (Letter 24).

[3] *Autobiography of Mrs. Delany* (Llanover) 1862, Ser. 1, Vol. 3, p. 79, and *passim*; *History of Dublin* (Gilbert), Vol. 2, pp. 49–50; *Prose Works of Dean Swift* (ed. Temple Scott) 1908, Vol. 12, p. 48.

and several considerations which are usually overlooked have to be taken into account.

To begin with, Lord Orrery was an even closer friend of Dean Swift's than George Faulkner, and he did not think the *Remarks* dishonouring to his friendship. His comment was: "In England they think I have said too little. In Ireland they think I have said too much. . . . I have spoken the truth, but I have not spoken the whole truth, so tender have I been of my friend the Dean." [1] Faulkner, who knew Swift so well, may justly have thought the same. Moreover, in as far as Lord Orrery had any publisher, George Faulkner enjoyed that privilege and cannot be blamed for wishing to retain it; the more so as he knew that refusal on his part to print the work would not hinder its publication. There were plenty of other publishers who would have been only too ready to take it on. But apart from this consideration, there were other reasons of an altogether different kind which left him little option in the matter; for at the very time that Lord Orrery's *Remarks* were ready for the press George Faulkner, though no account ever seems to be taken of the fact, was in negotiation with their author about a manuscript of Swift's *History of the Last Four Years of the Reign of Queen Ann* to which reference has been made above.[2]

Swift considered this history one of the best of his works and had been anxious to publish it many years earlier.[3] But some friends in England, and Lord Orrery among the rest, dissuaded him from committing it to the printers until they had examined it. To facilitate this examination and to safeguard the original Swift got Mr. Kendrick, the verger of St. Patrick's, to make a transcript of the whole thing for him, and this transcript he entrusted to Lord Orrery to take over to England in the year 1737. Four years later, in 1741, Swift commissioned Faulkner during one of his visits to England to reclaim the copy for him. But repeated miscarriage of plans forced Faulkner in the end to return home without it. He was to

[1] Lord Orrery-Dr. Barry, 10th Dec. 1751, *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. 4, p. 47.

[2] *Orrery Papers* (1903), Vol. 2, p. 87–89: *An Appeal to the Public* (Pamphlet, anon. 758), pp. 3–4.

[3] *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (ed. Temple Scott), Vol. X, Introduction.

have got the copy from Dr. King of St. Mary's Hall, Oxford, who when this plan failed returned it once more to the keeping of Lord Orrery in London, and it was still in his hands when, in October 1745, Swift died.

After Swift's death the manuscript became the property of his executors, who according to the terms of his will were empowered to sell it, along with the rest of his belongings not specifically devised, for the benefit of St. Patrick's hospital.[1] In 1749, accordingly, Faulkner applied to the executors, who were also the trustees of St. Patrick's[2] hospital, for authorization to publish it in the hospital's interest. The trustees were disposed to accede to his request. But difficulties once more arose and no further progress was made. In the beginning of 1751 Faulkner renewed his application and offered £200 for the manuscript together with an undertaking to go over to England to bring it back. The offer was tempting, and the trustees ordered their secretary to apprise Lord Orrery of what had happened and that they intended taking the offer into further consideration. The secretary's letter was as follows :—

DUBLIN,
WILLIAM STREET,
April 3rd, 1751.

MY LORD,

The Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital had a meeting last Friday to consider a proposal made by Mr. Faulkner, to give Two hundred pounds for the property of Dr. Swift's History of the latter part of Queen Ann's reign. This is so beneficial an offer towards augmenting the Author's charitable foundation, that as Trustees they think it ought to be accepted. And they incline the more to this Opinion, because if it were improper to publish that history and they were willing to suppress it, they cannot do it. For it lies totally in the Power of another person to publish ; the Author having deposited the Original with a friend to make it public in case it be not committed to the press or be not printed exactly according to the copy.[3] The Governors called

[1] A copy of the main items of the will was published by Faulkner at the beginning of the VIIIth volume of the first edition of Swift's Works. A copy of the full will is contained in Vol. 153 of the Halliday Pamphlets R.I.A.

[2] *Appeal to the Public*, p. 3.

[3] This was Dean Swift's relative, Mrs. Whitelaw. The whole story of Swift's desire to have the MS. printed and of the obstacles placed in his way by his friends is well told in Vol. 10 of *The Prose Works of Jonathan Swift* (ed. Temple Scott), though when the editor comes to discuss what happened after Swift's death, he most unaccountably suppresses all reference to Faulkner's edition of the *History* and his struggle to obtain the MS.

the verger of St. Patrick's before them, to ask whether the copy said to be now in your Lordship's hands, be all of his hand-writing ? He answered, that he had many years ago transcribed the whole by the Author's directions, who had it compared with the Original and declared at the same time he would send it to London in order to be published. Mr. Faulkner was sent for, who told the Board that if his proposal be accepted, he will go into London in a little time and wait upon your Lordship for the book. His offer will be taken again into consideration at the next meeting, and in the meantime I am commanded to acquaint your Lordship with this affair, and have enclosed the resolution of the Board for your further satisfaction.

This letter and the enclosed resolution had a disquieting effect upon Lord Orrery. He was still against the publication of the *History* for fear of the discredit it would bring upon Swift's reputation since, whatever about some of the other writings ascribed to him, there was no doubt about his authorship here. At the same time Lord Orrery was well aware that he had no right to the manuscript and could not well refuse to deliver it over to the trustees if they pressed their claim.[1] In the meantime he wrote for advice to some of his friends. Lord Bolingbroke's reply is the only one upon record. There appeared to him to be little option in the matter. " I do not see," he wrote, " that you can stand out the seige, as you call it, any longer. But for my part, as I thought Swift's pamphlet unfit to be published for a history, so I thought it not worth being kept." [2]

When Faulkner's proposition came up for discussion before the Governors of St. Patrick's Hospital for the second time, they apparently agreed to accept it. In due course he went over to London and got the manuscript from Lord Orrery, in or about the same time, so far as one can see, as he got the manuscript of the *Remarks* ;[3] nor is it too much to suppose that

[1] " In the meantime I enclose to you a paper which I desire you to consider and tell me your real opinion, whether it is possible to delay the delivery of Dr. Swift's manuscript any longer. It is certain I have no right to it, nor if I detain it, can I hinder the publication. The original is in hands that are desirous on all accounts to print it. But I will say no more till I hear your judgment, being desirous to stand justified in your opinion." Orrery to Erasmus Lewis, *Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 89. Erasmus Lewis had been Under Secretary of State during Lord Oxford's administration, which formed part of the matter treated of in the *History*.

[2] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 88.

[3] Letters from Lady Orrery to her husband (*Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 253–57) show that the *Remarks* were already in process of being written during the early part of 1751, but the last letter in the book is signed " Leicester Fields, August 28th, 1751."

in accepting this latter manuscript one of his chief objects was to break down Lord Orrery's opposition to the publication of the *History*. By advancing the publication of the *History* Faulkner may well have felt that he was doing more service to Swift's memory than he was doing disservice by bringing out the *Remarks*. He perhaps even contemplated publishing the two books together or using the *Remarks*, which was the shorter of the two, to prepare the ground for the appearance of the other. As things turned out, however, any plans of this kind were shattered ; for when Swift's manuscript was safely lodged in the hands of the trustees in Dublin, their resolution weakened nor did they come to a decision till one was forced from them by unforseen circumstances seven years later.[1]

Viewed in the light of those events, the stigma attaching to George Faulkner's action in publishing Lord Orrery's book is greatly lessened if not wholly removed. And though what has been said may not place the matter entirely beyond dispute, the whole trend of Faulkner's character entitles him to the benefit of any doubt, if doubt remain. If there was one thing above another he always disclaimed, it was any wish to disoblige or give offence. When in 1740 Alexander Pope raised difficulties about the publication of an edition of his letters to Swift, Faulkner declared himself immediately ready to suspend further operations though several sheets of the work were, at Swift's own request, already in the Press. He could, as he said, have " published those letters without his [Pope's] knowledge," but owing to his " great esteem and regard " for Pope he refrained from doing so—" to convince him there was a bookseller in Ireland who had honour enough to forego his own advantage rather than offend or injure him."[2]

Again on several occasions Faulkner refused material for the *Dublin Journal* (even where money had been enclosed to pay for insertion) on the ground that it might give offence. This had happened twice, for example, in the very year preced-

[1] Information came to hand that a copy of the work had got into the hands of some English printer and was being published by him. *Cf., An Appeal to the Public :* Pamphlet anon. 1758.

[2] *Works of Alexander Pope* (Jh. Wilson Croker ; 1872) *Correspondence*, Vol. 3, p. 421.

ing the publication of the *Remarks*.[1] Furthermore there is on record in a letter in the Royal Irish Academy a statement concerning a pamphlet published almost simultaneously with the *Remarks* which runs as follows :—

I informed you in my last letter that the *Seasonable Thoughts* sell very well, and indeed the demand for them is still increasing. Though by the by I believe if Mr. F. . . . r was in the Kingdom he would not print it on account of those parts which still bear hard on the clergy, for he informed me this week that some of them had spoke to him upon this topic and excused themselves of a hand in the persecution of the Papists, to whom they owned more toleration should be given, etc. For George is so careful not to disoblige any party or set of people that he would certainly have declined printing this pamphlet, if he had been at home and shown it to any of the clergy. But he has a very good excuse for publication, his being in England at the time and knowing nothing of the matter (as he doubtless pretends). We have by his own consent stole a march on him, which I am very well pleased at and at which he is not himself now displeased, since he is a gainer by it and has a good excuse to give those who think themselves grated by the pamphlet.[2]

The latter part of this passage is significant. For while it is possible that Faulkner, if he had foreseen the displeasure to be caused by the publication of the *Remarks*, might have thought twice about publishing them, once they were published he profited handsomely by his indiscretion. The book was bought up with amazing rapidity. It was first published on November 7th, 1751. By November 9th 1,500 copies had been sold. Over 7,000 copies were disposed of before the month was out and the demand still continued for more.[3]

Dr. Patrick Delany and one or two others wrote later in vindication of Swift's memory. But their works had nothing like the vogue of Lord Orrery's book, for interest in the matter soon flagged or, perhaps more correctly, was absorbed by other matters of greater public concern.

A controversy which arose in the Irish Parliament about the appropriation of surplus revenue soon gave the Dublin

[1] Faulkner's *Dublin Journal*, Sept. 29–Oct. 2nd ; July 21st–24th, 1750. *Cf.*, also June 1st–5th and Nov. 2nd–6th, 1731.

[2] MS. B.1.1. Letter from Myles Reilly to the author of the *Seasonable Thoughts*, Nov. 2nd, 1751.

[3] *Irish Book Lover*, Vol. 13, p. 86.

publishers and news-hawkers all they could do. It brought trade to Faulkner with the rest, but it brought him trouble also. By an unfortunate oversight in an account of a " numerous Meeting of the Northern Gentlemen at the Tholsel " which he published in his *Journal* for February 12th–16th, 1754, while he omitted from his enumeration of the " loyal " toasts " *The Glorious Memory of William III*," which had been given, he included " *The Duke of Dorset* " (*i.e.* the Viceroy), which had not been given. As Lord Kildare, one of the most prominent members of the Patriot Party, was stated to have been present at this meeting, he was furious at the way it was reported, and in company with Lord Carrick and Mr. Abraham Creichton made a rapid descent upon Faulkner's shop. A fiery interview ensued, at which Faulkner was threatened with the direst penalties if he failed to contradict his report in the next number of the *Dublin Journal*. Faulkner himself describes what passed as follows :—

> About 2 o'clock on Saturday Lord Kildare, Lord Carrick and Mr. Abraham Creichton, a Member of Parliament, came to Mr. Faulkner's House, made him read the paragraph, and when he came to the part that related to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Kildare asked him by what authority he dared to mention that man, whose health was not drank nor ever should be where he was present, and that no honest man or any friend of Ireland would ever drink his health ; then called Mr. Faulkner many gross and scandalous names, and insisted on Mr. Faulkner contradicting that scandalous and false paragraph in the next Journal. At the same time Lord Carrick said many severe words to Faulkner, which are forgot and cannot be recollected." [1]

A letter from another source (Dr. Barry to Lord Orrery) gives a similar picture. " Lord Kildare," says Dr. Barry, " charged him (Faulkner) severely for daring to insert falsehoods with his name, and though he narrowly then escaped punishment, solemnly threatened he would break what bones he had left in his body, if he did not in his next paragraph retract his Error and publish that the Duke of Dorset's health was not drank."[2]

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[1] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 119.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 120.

Fearing apparently that he had not already made a sufficiently deep impression, Lord Kildare came a second time to Faulkner's shop ; but on this occasion he was met, according to one account, by a servant who told him that Faulkner was out ; according to another, by Mrs. Faulkner who took the opportunity to give him a piece of her mind.[1] But however this may have been, the delicacy of the situation, from George Faulkner's point of view, hardly needs to be stressed. On the one hand, James Twentieth Earl of Kildare was not a man to be trifled with ; on the other hand, a retraction would only emphasize the insult to the viceroy. Still troubles of this kind were not wholly new to Faulkner. He had often been in difficulties with the Parliament in earlier days, and as he acted then so he acted now : he stood by what he had done. No retraction appeared, and Lord Kildare had to be content with getting the proprietor of another paper, *The Dublin Universal Advertiser*, to placard Faulkner's misstatements in his issue of February 19th.[2]

But despite the fact that Faulkner got out of this scrape without further violence to his dignity or person, the whole episode was very unfortunate ; for it was always his boast that he had no greater ambition than " to oblige and serve the Publick by printing and publishing everything that he thought useful to his country . . . to give the best intelligence in his power to all his readers, and to detect all public abuses in every shape whatever." [3] During the course of the surplus controversy in particular he had been most careful to avoid taking sides. Even with his friends he was reserved. Though he kept Lord Chesterfield well posted up on all that happened—for which Chesterfield expressed himself well satisfied in return—still it is evident from the following letter that Faulkner was unwilling to commit himself to any personal opinion in the matter :—

Though I am very sorry for your quarrells in Ireland, by which I am sure the Public must suffer, let who will prevail, I gladly accept your

[1] *Orrery Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 119, 121.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Faulkner's Journal*, Sept. 29th–Oct. 2nd, 1750. *Cf.*, also ' Extraordinary ' edition, Feb. 21st, 1754.

kind offer of sending me the controversial productions of the belligerent parties. Pray do not think any of these polemical pieces too low, too Grub-street, or too scurrilous to send me, for I have leisure to read them all, and prefer them infinitely to all other controversial performances. . . . (But)

There is one thing I would much rather know than all the contending parties in Ireland say or write against each other, and this is your real sentiments upon the whole ; but all I know of them is that I never shall know them, such is your candour and such is your caution.[1]

Significantly enough, though Lord Chesterfield heard of the debâcle from other sources, Faulkner made no mention to him of the difficulties that had arisen with Lord Kildare. He was probably too sore at what had happened and feared to provide Lord Chesterfield with new grounds for laughter at his expense ; for while there is no doubt that Chesterfield had a real esteem for Faulkner, he loved to chaff and tease him. He constantly compared him with great solemnity to the "celebrated" Roman bookseller, Atticus, urged him to produce a worthy literary masterpiece, and discoursed on the gratitude with which his name would go down to posterity. Once only did he carry his jocularity too far. That was when, in 1762, he advised Faulkner to take an action against Samuel Foote for malicious impersonation on the stage, and then later made fun of him for what he had done.[2] That even his friends thought this unworthy and discreditable is shown by the fact that when Dr. Chenivix, Bishop of Waterford, sent a bundle of letters from Chesterfield for inclusion in Dr. Maty's collection of Chesterfield's Works, he deleted the passage in one of them which referred to this incident.[2]

For the rest, however, Lord Chesterfield served Faulkner well. In 1760 he gave him very sound advice about the production of a second edition of Swift's Works which he had in mind ; [4] and whenever Faulkner was in England (for

[1] *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Chesterfield* (Maty), Vol. 1, pp. 115–16. Later in 1761 Lord Chesterfield made a somewhat similar complaint (Chesterfield–Faulkner, Dec. 3rd, 1761) : "Did not the Bishop of Waterford acquaint you that whenever you write to me any news from Ireland, I craved your own opinion and observation on it ? Though I do not believe that I shall prevail, you are so extremely close and prudent upon those subjects. . . ."

[2] *Miscellaneous Works*, Vol. 1, pp. 321–22 ; and *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope* (ed. Lord Mahon, 1847), Vol. 5, p. 416.

[3] *The Letters of Philip Dormer Stanhope* (Mahon), Vol. 5, p. 454.

[4] *Miscellaneous Works of Lord Chesterfield* (Maty), Vol. 1, p. 321.

Chesterfield never crossed over to Ireland again after he had left it as Viceroy) there was no one he was more anxious and glad to see. This is well shown by letters to Faulkner himself as well as by several passages in letters from Lord Chesterfield to the Bishop of Waterford. But nowhere is it perhaps better shown than in the following quaint invitation, which has by a happy chance escaped the ravages of time :—

BLACKHEATH, *August* 19, 1766.

Lord Chesterfield sends his compliments to his good friend Mr. Faulkner, hungers and thirsts after him and hopes that he will take some mutton with him at Blackheath any day or days he has leisure.[1]

But even when Faulkner was in England, the hospitality was not all on Lord Chesterfield's side. When as sometimes happened the two men chanced to be in London together, Faulkner sometimes did the honours of the evening; for whatever faults he may have had, selfishness was not one of them. On the contrary he was ever more ready to give than to receive. Chesterfield himself was more than once embarrassed at his generosity, and in one of the last of his letters to Faulkner the following lines occur :—

I have received and thank you for the volumes you sent me of Swift, whom you have enriched me with in every shape and size. Your liberality makes me ashamed, and I could wish that you would rather be my book-*seller* than my book-*giver*. Adieu.[2]

Faulkner's boast that he had no greater ambition than " to oblige and serve the Publick by printing and publishing everything that he thought useful to his country . . . and to detect all public abuses in every shape whatever " has been quoted some pages back. How he lived up to that boast in his courageous defence of the Catholics will form the subject of a further article.

CHARLES O'CONOR

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 325; the original of this, as well as of many of the letters, is still preserved in the British Museum Ms. Eg. 201.

[2] Chesterfield–Faulkner, March 25th, 1769.

THE PRESENT POSITION OF CATHOLICS IN GERMANY

BY OBSERVER

At its best National-Socialism was an effort at uniting all the energies of the German people in the task of bettering their Fatherland, which had been humiliated in the post-war years and was faced with a desperate economic situation. The aim was to get all Germans together —at the machine, the desk or the shovel—in a conscious national purpose. But the danger was obvious from the first. Marching, working, playing all in a row leads to thinking all in a row. The demand for national unity can become intolerant of any view of life that is not the National-Socialist view. Once the State had been identified with a Party, to refuse the doctrines of Hitler was to endanger the spiritual commonwealth, to reject a "national value."

Was this new system already incompatible with the "positive Christianity" which Hitler and his ministers had so often proclaimed? In any case, a clash with the Catholic Church became inevitable once laws were passed and doctrines urged to which no Christian could subscribe with a clear conscience. Catholics became "unsocial" when they denied the right of the State to pass laws enforcing sterilisation, or when they held that religion cannot be submerged in the sameness of a Party solidarity. The last three years saw the Catholics of Germany fighting an unequal battle against assimilation by the Nazis. A constant stream of propaganda from the press, radio, platform and hoarding sought to persuade everybody, especially the Catholics, that their Church's doctrine was disruptive and anti-national. With it came the bewildering insistence on Race as the supreme good—the cry of the Narcissus worshipping his own blood. Meanwhile Catholic teaching was throttled: its press was silenced, and priests were imprisoned for rebuking Rosenberg or implying criticism of the State's religious policy. Under this barrage the real attack was launched against the Catholic youth movement and against Catholic schools. All means were used: a demoralising economic pressure on Catholic parents, even open violence. As these lines are being written, news comes of the sharpest attack so far. A hundred and fifty priests and laymen have been arrested at Düsseldorf, some of them schoolboys who were leaders of the Catholic youth; forty-five more have been arrested at Cologne, including fifteen priests; others at Breslau. It is but a continuation of the policy which has so sadly stained the honour of a nation that freely pledged itself by Concordat to respect "the free exercise and public profession of the Catholic faith."

It is instructive to recall some concrete details of these proceedings. Take the arrest of priests and the month of January 1934 as typical. At Munich Father Rossberger was condemned to ten months imprisonment for approving of the "Brown Book" on the burning of the Reichstag. The evidence against him was the diary of Prefect Hartel, which was written immediately after the event, but then destroyed. Three other Prefects were examined, but could remember nothing clearly. On charges such as the offering of Mass for an executed Communist, for convoking the faithful to a religious service during a Hitler broadcast, etc., the parish priests of Metzinger, Waldheim, Traunstein were fined and imprisoned. On January 27th an attempt was made on the life of Cardinal Faulhaber—just after official notice had been given of a speech in which the Bavarian Minister Esser had attacked His Eminence.

The attitude of the police and tribunals may be gathered from the following cases, which are given in some detail. At a special court in Warstein last September Vicar Van de Hövel of Belecke was charged with secret attacks against the State and with misuse of the pulpit. The following official report is from the Dortmund Justizpressestelle :—

"The accused, though of irreproachable behaviour before he came to Belecke and a loyal soldier in the Great War, had sought to induce the young boys who had left the Catholic youth-organisation for the Hitler-Youth to return to their own associations. He had succeeded in winning over large sections of the people : this reaction against National-Socialism was solely due to his influence. This charge is proved by the words of Police-Inspector Salfeld, who said that relations between the party and the local people had been excellent until the Vicar arrived. On March 17th, the day after the proclamation of the Armament Law, he preached on the growing godlessness and Bolshevism, spoke of the crazy arming of the Soviets, where a hundred thousand women were being trained as soldiers. In a sermon of March 24th he spoke of immorality, as shown especially by the fall in the number of births. To-day, he said, immorality is being cultivated, and a conference had been recently held at which motions were passed of which he could not speak in the pulpit without shame. Other countries despised Germany for her immorality. They stood to-day before a moral Kulturbolshevismus : Germany would sound the fall of the West.

"In denying these charges the accused pointed out that the conference to which he referred was the Freemason gathering at Belfort in France : he had said that Kulturbolshevismus, not Germany, would sound the fall of the West. This defence was contradicted by evidence taken from the congregation. Many of the witnesses testified on behalf of the defendant ; and considering the time that had elapsed since

the sermon was preached, it was not easy for the tribunal to determine the truth. The chief basis for the verdict was the evidence of Frau Vollmer, head of the Nazi women's group at Belecke. Even this witness was extraordinarily careful and reticent in her statement: being a believing Catholic, she was not anxious to come into conflict with her conscience. The tribunal got the impression that the accused was anti-national, that he was against rearmament, that he was opposed to National-Socialism, especially to its theory of Race. The tribunal came to the conviction that the preacher had deliberately omitted the name and place of the conference to which he referred so as to convey the impression that it was a Nazi conference, and that he strove in this way to influence his flock against Nazi ideas. Both his sermons were judged to be public hostile utterances on ordinances of State and Party in the meaning of Par. 2 of the Act of Dec. 20, 1934, and calculated to undermine the confidence of the people in their political leaders. The preacher was therefore found guilty of the crime with which he was charged, and sentenced to ten months imprisonment."

On looking at the contradictory evidence in this particular case, it is, perhaps, permissible to doubt whether the defendant was condemned for his sermons or for the character given him by the police inspector. In any case, if such be the Pulpit Law and its application, it is clear that all priests are in constant danger of arrest, not merely for what they may say but for what they may seem to imply, and in constant danger of condemnation at the hands of a Tribunal basing its judgment on "impressions." The way is evidently open to limitless harrying of priests. Hence the following cases will not surprise us.

At Coblenz, in May last year, the parish priest of Nayen was charged with having pronounced "offensive words about Rosenberg and Baldur von Shirach, who were personalities of the Nat. Soc. Party." Now von Shirach is as notoriously anti-Christian as the author of the blasphemous *Myth of the Nineteenth Century* himself.* The head of the Hitler-Youth is one of Rosenberg's chief publicity agents. When protests were made by the Catholic authorities against the openly godless propaganda of Rosenberg and von Shirach, the official answer was that these were private individuals; when however the parish priest criticised them, they became "personalities of the Party," and he was condemned to five months imprisonment. A similar case occurred in Landau. For having "criticised from the pulpit the declaration of Baldur von Shirach that the Hitler-Youth should follow Rosenberg's way" the parish priest F. de Berg was sentenced to four months imprisonment. For a similar "misuse of the pulpit" a parish

* For article on "Rosenberg as Nazi Prophet" see issue of June 1935.

priest in Trier was punished with eight months prison. Another at Lonnig was fined one hundred marks for a sermon which compared the religious persecution in Germany with that of Russia. At Hanau a priest was fined 500 marks for exhorting parents not to entrust their sons to organisations where their Catholic faith was in danger. There is no mention of his having named any particular organisation. Here is the judgment in a case at Hamm, where a parish priest was condemned for "violating the law protecting State and Party against secret attacks": "Proofs are not always available and clear, as in other cases. The court is convinced that the accused is not an enemy of the State in the true sense of the word, but he has combatted the movement in so far as it seemed an obstacle to the religious organisations which he protects." The sentence was seven months imprisonment. At Düsseldorf one priest was condemned to four months in prison because "in his first sermon, talking of false prophets, he counted among them those who declared religion to be a private matter (*i.e.* there should be no public profession or distinction of faiths). By this he has offended against personages directing the State and Party."

Another significant condemnation was that of Vicar Moschner at a special court in Ratibor. He was Diocesan President of the Catholic Youth. Charged with having criticised in a religious assembly leading personalities of State and Party, he admitted that he had encouraged the Catholic Youth and their parents to resist the attacks of movements hostile to Christianity. He had expressed himself carefully, knowing that representatives of both the Gestapo (Secret Police) and the Staatsjugend (National Youth) were present. The latter brought the charges; the former gave evidence that "they had the impression that the priest had incited people against the Staatsjugend." Relying on these "impressions," the public prosecutor demanded a fine of 600 marks "for attacking the totalitarian claims of the State." In condemning Vicar Moschner the judge said: "You have the right to speak of Christ and the faith; but if you claim the right to educate the young for the Church alone, denying the State its right, the State could not tolerate that."

Here is an example of a fruitful source of condemnations. In a Silesian Special Court a curate was charged with "secret machinations" against the State. He had asked a woman, in confession, whether her son, who was in his Communion class, was going to do his "Country Year" (*Land-Jahr*). He counselled her against it, "because the children come into a Protestant country where they have little chance of fulfilling their religious duties and of going to Sunday services, so that they lose the Faith." On the grounds of the seal of secrecy the accused refused to give any explanations. He appealed to the decisions of his Bishop (of Breslau) for considering it his duty to warn his

parishioners against the dangers of the "Country-Year." He had proved his loyalty as a front-line soldier, winning the Iron Cross (First Order) and other decorations. He felt bound to speak of the "Country-Year" in confession when certain that it concerned religious matters. The judge then made claims for the State which are very significant: "It was a political and even legal question to decide whether teaching on the Land-Jahr was a duty of the spiritual ministry; and the judges were called on to decide it." After discussing the relations of wife and husband, he said: "I hold it to be the duty of every Catholic to talk about his confession and whatever is said in it, if the interest of the State demands it." The public prosecutor inveighed sharply against "political Catholicism" and maintained that "the national-political law stood above the law of the Church." The priest was condemned to pay a fine of 500 marks, the sentence having been commuted from three or two months' imprisonment on account of the accused's military record.

When one meditates on the grounds given for a condemnation in the following instance, one sees clearly that the list of such charges could be enormous. At a special tribunal of Carlsruhe one priest was condemned to three months' imprisonment for having spoken at a meeting of the Catholic Youth "in a manner that would render possible the interpretation that he was not given to thinking as became a priest." (!). Account was taken not of what he said or suggested, but of what people might like to suggest he was thinking of. Convictions were easy to secure on such grounds. Terms of four, six, seven months' imprisonment were constantly imposed for infringements of the "pulpit-paragraph" and for "sedition." For these, and for "inciting to rebel," a parish priest was sentenced at Trier to fifteen months' imprisonment.

One or two more examples must suffice for the moment. A parish priest was charged at Dortmund with "secret attacks against the State." A school-girl, not fourteen years old, came to confession. She had often missed the religious instruction given to the Children of Mary in their spare time. Her excuse was that the Nazi Executive of the Staatsjugend forbade members of the "German Girls' Association" to belong to the Sodality of the Blessed Virgin. He asked her: "Who has most to say on that matter, the State or the Church?" For this, on the sole evidence of the girl, he was condemned to pay a fine of 1500 marks instead of the ordinary imprisonment of ten weeks. Here is a good example of how the paganism which is officially disclaimed is judicially protected: Last January at the Criminal Court of Würtemberg, a curate was charged "with having in a sermon of November 1934 attacked the National-Socialist press and in a sermon of January 1935 with having spoken of the religious ideas in Rosenberg's

Myth in a manner essentially misrepresenting the contents of the book." On being examined, the priest stood by all he had said. The children of the parish were entrusted to his protection; his warnings against bad press accounts and his criticism of the religious ideas in Rosenberg's *Myth* were simply his duty as pastor. He was condemned to three months imprisonment. Large numbers of instances could be cited where the same punishment was imposed for warning children about anti-Catholic papers.

The Nazi leaders had indeed laid down the principle: "The platform for us, the pulpit for the priest." But in fact they did everything to render preaching "innocuous." Nazi interference followed the priest literally into the church itself. How many services were disturbed, sometimes by uniformed Hitler-Youth: as at Cordel where, after laughing and talking through the sermon, they sang, during the hymn "Christ, thou Lord of these new days," "Hitler, Lord of these new days!" And often the priests whose sermons were disturbed were then "taken into protective custody!" The result of the "pulpit-paragraph" has been to prevent the application of Catholic teaching—even by suggestion—to the problems of the day. It is impossible to imagine any priest daring to denounce sterilisation. Further, not only was positive doctrine restricted to its most general expressions (and most men find the platonic air of pure universals too rarefied), but priests were not even allowed to defend the Church against the blasphemies of a Rosenberg (all discussion of the latter's *Myth* has been forbidden in Bavaria).

In the series of organized attacks on the Catholics next comes the attack on their press. The Catholic press, which should defend and rally the Catholics, has been battered and crippled. When not suppressed outright like *Michael*, the subjects which it may treat have been reduced to a miminum and further restrictions are threatened. As the Bishop of Trier could say eighteen months ago: "While the new paganism has the way cleared for it and its recruiting, the Catholic press is no longer free to discuss the great questions of the day in the light of Catholic doctrine or to rebut the attacks made on Christianity, Church, bishops and priests." Here are some random instances of the limitations imposed on the Catholic press. In September last a series of articles in the Catholic *Kirchenzeitung* of Cologne, on the moral and religious state of the German peoples before Christianity, were suspended by order of the police; they were interpreted as a veiled attack on the religion and customs of the ancient Germans. A study in the same paper of "The Eucharist in the World of the Worker" was censured for observing that technical perfection alone does not mean prosperity. This was taken to signify an attack on "national values." The editors, to avoid the suppression of the paper,

had to publish a declaration denying any intention of attacking a "national value." In January a priest of Essen was fined 300 marks for distributing leaflets, in support of the Catholic Youth, which contained a passage from the Fulda pastoral where there was supposed to be an allusion offensive to the Hitler-Youth.

Next come the articles which Catholic papers are forced to publish without any indication that they have been supplied by the Party. A very humiliating instance of this may be seen in a number of *Germania* of last September. At Würzburg "spontaneous demonstrations" had occurred before the offices of the Catholic diocesan paper; to calm the demonstrators the editor, Father Saal, was "taken into protective custody." Trouble still went on; so the manager was also arrested, and a Nazi commissioner was installed in the offices. *Germania* gave the reason: an article based on the Encyclical *Casti Connubii* had condemned sterilisation; and then to this statement of fact it had to add the following: "The sole competent judge of the motives which rendered necessary the law so condemned, is one who knows the situation *de facto* existing. It is clear that no foreign power has this capacity; it belongs to the Leader of the German people alone."

Catholic papers have had to struggle against periods of suspension recurring "with mathematical regularity" (*Osservatore Romano*), which naturally have embarrassed them financially. Some were totally suppressed. Within a short period the Berlin Church Bulletin was twice sequestrated; once in company with all the bulletins of Sunday April 20, 1935, for publishing a collective pastoral of the Prussian bishops; again, for reporting the process of the parish priest of Rostock. He had been condemned to a year and a half's imprisonment for criticising the making of the Land-Jahr obligatory for young women, as it led to "indifference and confusion of religion." The Trier Church Bulletin was sequestrated for demonstrating that a State run on the lines of "positive Christianity" cannot clash with the Church; the Munich Bulletin suffered the same fate for calling attention to the Concordat. This policy was extended to Catholic books. An example, which could have been deduced from what has already been related of the policy of cherishing Rosenberg, was the confiscation of two books by the Bishop of Ela, Mgr. Hudal. They were *The German People and the Christian West* and *The Vatican and the Modern State*, published at Innsbruck. Because they combatted the philosophical ideas of Rosenberg, all copies on sale were seized by order of the political police (17 Dec. 1935). But the hardest blow was struck against what was perhaps the most important group of Catholic papers, those published by the Jungmännerverband of Düsseldorf. They comprised *Michael*, a weekly; *Wacht*, *Jung-Wacht*, and *Land-Wacht* (for young country-folk), monthlies; the papers for "leaders" (*Jungführer*) and for

priests (*Geistliche Führer*); a periodical for schoolchildren, *Am Scheidewege*. *Michael*, formerly *Die Junge Front*, had risen through various suspensions, suppressions and re-organisations from a circulation of 160,000 to over 300,000. The only reason vouchsafed for the final suppression of last January was that the group of Catholic papers was "indirectly hostile to National-Socialism." The loss sustained by the Catholic Youth has hardly been recompensed by the increased circulations of most diocesan bulletins.

But after all, these attacks on pulpit and press are to be regarded merely as the barrage under which the real attack is being launched. In themselves they could not seriously menace the Catholic life of the country. The real objective was the youth. That was behind Gauleiter Robert Wagner's invectives against "political Catholicism" at Carlsruhe last summer: "It wishes to dispute the direction of the nation and the youth with the National-Socialist State. The end of it all is that we can no longer tolerate the attacks of the Church nor the existence of the Catholic political press nor the political associations of Catholic youth nor of Catholic professional men."[1] Catholic youth organisations and Catholic schooling were therefore attacked, with what success we shall see. The chief weapon, and a very deadly one, was economic pressure on the parents. They were threatened or punished with dismissal, and warned that they jeopardized the future of their children by leaving them under Catholic control. A writer in STUDIES last June counted ten thousand Catholic civil servants and officials dismissed. How this could come about is clear from a couple of particular instances and from the general official (?) directions quoted below.

At Essen last November a workman, engaged under the City Manager, refused to send his children to the Hitler-Youth. "As a Catholic he must leave his children in the Catholic organisation." The City Manager held that no public servant should oppose the educational ends of National-Socialism and pronounced his dismissal—the dismissal to be revoked as soon as the children entered the Hitler-Youth. The official held to his refusal and appealed to the Labour Tribunal to be reinstated. His complaint was rejected. The judgment admitted that dismissal was a real hardship in his case, but that it appeared to be justified. "The City Manager could not be expected to work with such as did not stand on the ground of National-Socialism. Further, as representative of the City Council, he had made it clear from the first that the dismissal would be immediately withdrawn as soon as the children were free to enter the Hitler-Youth; they had

[1] The *New Statesman* of March 21 quoted the following profession of faith as made by Herr Wagner on March 14 to 300,000 people: "What Hitler decides is right, and will remain eternally right. Whatever is useful to the German people is right; whatever is harmful is wrong."

already expressed their desire to do so. The refusal of this offer was a proof of the appellant's negative attitude to the State of to-day. The dismissal therefore stood firm."

A similar appeal was dismissed (last June) at Frankfurt. The father of an apprentice on the railways, a member of the Catholic Youth, appealed against the dismissal of his son. The Railway admitted that there was no complaint to be made as regards his work. His dismissal was based on the ordinance which demanded that "every employé should always be wholeheartedly devoted to the national State." It was upheld.

Such cases are the natural result of the following pronouncements. This is from the President of Münster: "Attention has been drawn to demands made on officials to leave confessional associations; he had nothing against such demands. Refusal to comply, resulting from a spirit of opposition, was not actually a breach of duty. It offered, however, a positive inducement to his superiors to deny this official—as regards furlough, supplementary help in distress, burses (*i.e.* for his children), and promotion—any particular goodwill. As regards pressure put upon officials to make them send their children to the Hitler-Youth, as yet no juridical force could be used—the H.-Y. stood fast to the principle of voluntary entry. But parents in general acted shortsightedly, endangering the professional prospects and thereby the future of their children, by purposely preventing them from entering the National Youth." The following is from the President of Lower Bavaria: "It cannot be allowed to civil servants and officials to entrust their children to confessional youth organisations. All senior officials must send in before August 15th the names of all officials under them whose children belong to confessional youth organisations. Children who before that date leave such organisations may be omitted from the account." At Duisberg all corporation servants were ordered out of confessional organisations and were told to enjoin upon their children to leave confessional youth organisations. "Those who believe that they cannot conform to this ordinance, must renounce further co-operation in building up the State." An edict at Hanover reads: "I must ask my officials and workers to give up at once their membership of confessional civil-service and professional organisations and to order their children to leave confessional youth associations. The State can demand that those called to work with the State render it its due. This order does not intend to force anyone's conscience. But those who believe that they cannot fall in with it, must renounce further co-operation in building up the State." Other instances of such indirect attacks on Catholic professional and youth organisations could be adduced; but even direct suppression has been resorted to. One case is that of the Catholic workers' and apprentices' organisation

in Münster, which was dissolved and forbidden over six months ago for alleged "activities hostile to State and people." A truer ground might be reprisals for an outspoken sermon of Bishop Galen. In any case, as this fearless champion of Catholic rights said recently: "None of those then cited publicly as offenders have been charged or condemned: but the accusations then made and the measures then taken have never been recalled nor withdrawn."

The result of all this—propaganda, persecution, pressure—can be stated very simply. Formerly Catholic youth organisations embraced twenty per cent. of Catholic youths. At present about 96 per cent. are outside the organisations. That represents a loss of four-fifths of their membership.

How have the Catholic schools and religious instruction in general fared? The answer is, badly. Before coming to the main lines of attack, a couple of instances of interference with the personnel and time allotted to religious instruction may be given. At Düsseldorf last August, the right to teach religion was withdrawn from two priests "whose conduct failed continually to come up to what was expected from State instructors. They have notably disturbed the peace of the school, threatening gravely the education of the scholars in the National-Socialist spirit." Their offence may be deduced from this ordinance of Leipzig: "Religious teachers should be mindful that the German youth have the right to know the religious ideas and ethics of their forefathers far more than the Old Testament. They should therefore whenever possible have recourse to comparisons with the German religion and teach children the usages of the ancient Germans. In the higher classes the German religion and the penetration of Christianity into the German world should be explained. While this is being done, the fact that the Church repressed much of the German spirit of liberty should not be passed over in silence." At Marienburg a parish priest and two curates were arrested last September; the explanation is to be found in a notice in every room of the primary school: "The Curate W— is forbidden to enter the school; by making propaganda for the 'Holy Childhood' during school-time he has been guilty of a grave injury to its good name. As the danger, therefore, exists that Curate L— might do the same during school-time, access to the school is also forbidden him. No priest may enter without special permission." After prohibiting all religious emblems in school and withdrawing the use of classrooms for confessional organisations, it continued: "All scholars belonging to the Hitler-Youth are to sit at the right in class, the others to the left, and members of confessional organisations behind. After every period 'Henceforth I wish to be only German' is to be repeated. In classes where W— and L— taught, from now on only one hour of religious instruction is to be given instead of two. This is because it has been demonstrated that two hours were too many,

as time was found in these hours to make propaganda for the Holy Childhood. In place of religion will be taught, in the second hour, politico-national education." In Prussia the new Normal School for girls reduced the time for religious instruction from two hours to one in the week. And in Würtemberg in certain classes it was reduced from three to two on account of Saturday being given over to the National-Youth organisation. For "trying to keep his scholars in the Catholic Youth" the right to teach religion was withdrawn from a curate at Coblenz.

The principle having been laid down by the Minister for Education "that public schools are not to be endangered by private schools," the way was open to the suppression of Catholic schools. This actually occurred in Upper Bavaria—witness the report in the *Völkische Beobachter* of 11 Dec. 1935: "The Bavarian Staatsministerium for Instruction and Cult has dismissed, on appraising the facts and rights concerned, the appeal of the Archiepiscopal Ordinary of Münich-Freising against the decision of the government of Upper Bavaria of the 30th Sept., whereby the Catholic confessional school in Engelschalking has been turned into a German national school." The Minister added in his comment that "the ordinance of 1883 was naturally subject to the change of meaning due to new ground being broken in every province of the life of the German people." Protests of Cardinal Faulhaber were unheeded, while the menacing statement was made (2 Feb. 1936) that"the government wished to find a definite solution of the school question by a change in the Concordat with the Holy See."

Sufficient examples have already been given of economic pressure brought to bear against Catholic schooling. One more instance of discrimination against Catholics may be added here from an order of the President of the Rhine Province: "It has come to my notice that children who refuse obstinately to enter a National-Socialist organisation, continue to be favoured extensively by grants, in whole or in part, of free places and subsidies. I ask you to send me, within ten days, a list of all schoolchildren who have been awarded such places or subsidies. It must contain the name and class of each student and the association to which he belongs. I profit by the occasion to point out that the award of free places and subsidies is meant after all to be of service to an élite; that public moneys can, therefore, be spent only on such needy students as prove themselves worthy of this distinction by their accomplishments, diligence, good character and irreproachable patriotic behaviour. Where these conditions are fulfilled, students belonging to the national associations are to have first consideration."

All this propaganda came to a climax nearing terrorism at the New Year, when parents had to register their children in confessional

or state schools. *The Times* described the "drive" at Munich, with its eighty Nazi meetings, its constant broadcasts repeating the cry: "We tolerate the non-abolition of the confessional schools, but with the same feelings as we tolerate the Treaty of Versailles." It ended with a house-to-house canvass—of what pressure may be gathered from Cardinal Faulhaber's appeal: "Catholic parents, it is your duty in conscience not to let yourselves be shaken, if you are threatened with the loss of your bread. It is your duty to have your children inscribed in the confessional schools. No State in the world which observes the law, can rob its citizens of the rights it has itself guaranteed."

Perhaps knowing what kind of State they had to deal with, parents inscribed about 36,000 children (65 per cent.) in the State schools. The year before only 35 per cent. had been so inscribed. At Nurnberg a similar campaign resulted in 82 per cent. of the children being inscribed in the State schools. At Stuttgart, a town about one-fifth Catholic, 26,000 out of 28,000 were inscribed in the German Volkschule; the new school-year counts 43 Catholic to 659 other schools. In other words, Catholic schools, in spite of the Concordat, are being crushed out of existence—not by the State, but by the Party.

It looks then as if the main objective of the attack on pulpit and press has been attained and that the unending and unscrupulous Nazi propaganda has succeeded in shaking badly Catholic education and Catholic youth organizations. The danger is very great. In addition, there must be many Christians who, while genuinely regretting the systematic onslaught on the Catholics, cannot withhold their admiration for the régime which has shaken off so many of the shackles of the Versailles Treaty; in their eyes an act like the military occupation of the Rhineland makes up for many disagreeable ones. There is, of course, much in the Nazi régime which Catholics can and do approve. They believe wholeheartedly in German unity; but their idea of national unity does not run to the Nazi fanaticism of "Neither Protestant nor Catholic but only German"—which has about as much sense as "Neither red nor blue but only oval." No doubt much of the Nazi bitterness against Catholics is due to the old "anti-papist" feelings of former Protestants who, like the Orangemen of Belfast, retain of their Protestantism only hatred of Rome and of Christianity scarcely a shred. This may be appeased in time, and some hopeful signs have appeared. Projects of laws to prohibit advertisements and non-religious (*e.g.* cultural) articles in Catholic papers have not been carried out. Is this but a lull before the Olympic Games or because there are at the moment graver problems—economic and international—to be faced? Let us piously hope and pray that it is the presage of a better day for the Catholics of Germany.

OBSERVER

GLARE OF HEAD-LIGHTS: SOLUTION OF PROBLEM

BY REV. HENRY V. GILL, S.J.

THE problem of overcoming the glare from the powerful head-lights of motor cars is one which is only too familiar to all motorists and cyclists. Much research has been given to this problem and various devices have been suggested; but so far no satisfactory solution has been found. It is obvious that the ideally perfect device must be automatic. A law recently passed in England imposes, within a certain time limit, an obligation on all motorists to have an arrangement attached to the mounting of head-lights, so that the beam may be "dipped" by approaching cars. It is clear that this device is far from perfect. In the first place, it is not automatic, and what is not automatic has its dangers; its application is dependent on the mentality of the driver, who may apply it too late or not at all—according to his sense of prudence, freedom from distraction, condition of sobriety. In the second place, this device lessens the illumination of the road; and as the traffic increases on the main roads, the driver will have to be perpetually switching on and switching off—and in this too there is obvious danger. The system of "dimming" at present common in Ireland is open to the same objections: it is not automatic and it lessens the illumination of the road. During the moment of "dimming," if it has been preceded by a dazzling glare from an on-coming car, the humble cyclist is liable to be completely blotted out of view—and therefore liable to be blotted out of life. It is no wonder that the humble cyclist has become an intolerable nuisance for our speed-fiends and road-hogs; but he too has his rights, and it is high time that more consideration should be given to them.

However, a recent invention has provided—at least theoretically—a most hopeful means of automatically overcoming the glare of head-lights, while allowing at the same time the road and all objects thereon to be fully illuminated. It has occurred to the present writer—in company, no doubt, with others—that the application of polarized light offers a perfect solution of the dazzle problem; it would automatically eliminate glare without lessening illumination. For the benefit of those not acquainted with the constitution of ordinary light it may be well to recall the following facts. Light possesses a peculiar property which allows it to be polarized—that is, to receive a unilateral orientation. A crude example will explain. If you attach a rope at one end and hold the other end moderately taut, with a sharp jerk of the

hand you can send waves running along the rope. The angle of these waves to the ground will vary according to the angle of the originating jerk ; they may be up and down or right and left or in any other transverse direction. If now, in front of the hand that gives the jerk, you place two upright boards and pass the rope between them, you can still cause waves to run along the rope—but only at right angles to the ground ; they have received a unilateral orientation. But if the boards are placed parallel with the ground—that is, at right angles to the direction of the waves—they will immediately stop the waves. A beam of light, like a rope, may be considered as composed of many strands or rays ; but each of these rays is vibrating in a different transverse direction. Polarization consists in giving the beam of light, like the waves of the rope, a unilateral orientation ; and if this has been secured by the passage of the beam through specially prepared glass, then the problem of glare has been solved, as we shall see.

When light passes through a polarizing plate, it emerges as plane-polarized light. It can pass through transparent substances just like ordinary light. But it can pass through a polarizing plate similar to the first only when the second plate is oriented at a similar angle to the first—just as in the case of the rope and the upright boards. Thus, if a source of polarized light is viewed through a polarizing plate it will appear bright and dark alternately as the plate is rotated in its own plane. Polarization, as it were, eliminates all waves from the beam of light except those vibrating in one direction. Consequently a second and similar polarizing plate, if placed in front of this polarized light, will either let it through or stop it according to the angle at which it is placed.

Let us now apply this discovery to the head-lights of motor cars. If the glass in front of every head-light is a polarizer making polarization at an angle (say) of 45 degrees with the road, then the light from the head-lights of every car will be polarized in the same direction. Now, if every driver is furnished with a viewing screen similarly polarized, the polarization of this screen will always be at right angles to the polarization of the head-lights of on-coming cars. Consequently, while the head-lights of his own car will fully illuminate the road and the on-coming car, polarization will save him completely and automatically from the glare of the latter's head-lights. As polarization will never shut out all light from the head-lights, there will be no danger of collision ; and in any case the small lamps, which will not be polarized, will always be fully visible. Besides that, the driver's own head-lights will play fully and undiminished on the on-coming car.

This method of eliminating glare is theoretically sound ; but, owing to the difficulty of providing polarizers sufficiently large to cover the head-lights, it was impracticable until a recent discovery. The present

writer experimented with polarizers composed of piles of very thin glass suitably inclined to the direction of the emergent beam, but with only moderate success. An American invention, however, has now made it possible to apply this anti-glare device with every hope of success. There has been put on the market glass plates treated with a layer of small crystals which are deposited with a uniform orientation. Light which has passed through these " polaroid " plates—as they are called—is polarized in a definite direction. When a second " polaroid " plate is placed in the path of this polarized light, the latter will pass through or be stopped according to the orientation of the second plate. These plates can now be supplied in any size by the Polaroid Corporation of Boston ; but they are expensive, as the demand for them is still extremely limited. Polarization, however, can be produced in more ways than one, and it is for our scientists to discover a cheap and efficient process.

The application of " polaroid " plates as an anti-glare device is very simple. These plates would be fitted in front of the head-lights and would be oriented in such a way as to polarize the light in a plane of 45 degrees to the road, as has been already explained. Also, every driver would be furnished with a " polaroid " viewer oriented in the same direction. This viewer could take the form either of a " polaroid " plate attached to the screen or of " polaroid " spectacles. Cyclists could make use of similar spectacles. As the polarizers absorb a certain amount of light, motor cars would have to carry more powerful head-lights than at present. Otherwise all that is needed for the efficient working of this automatic device is legislation enforcing its use by all motorists.

In conclusion a few words may be said about another device which while far inferior, has some advantages. According to experiments carried out in recent years, night driving by coloured lights is as safe and as efficient as driving by the white light of ordinary head-lights. All red lights will be seen through red-coloured spectacles, but not through blue-coloured spectacles ; and all blue lights will be seen through blue-coloured spectacles, but not through red-coloured ones. Consequently, a driver with red-coloured spectacles will not be affected by blue-coloured head-lights ; and if his own head-lights are red-coloured, they will illuminate perfectly the on-coming car and all objects on the road, but will not affect the driver of the on-coming car who is wearing blue-coloured spectacles. For long distances, such as between Dublin and Cork, this device would act automatically without a change ; but for shorter distances and for transversal tours it might necessitate so many changes of colour that it would become too cumbrous. However, some reader may see a possible method of application—with the aid of legislation.

H. V. Gill

REVIEWS

Religion

THE LIFE AND TEACHING OF JESUS CHRIST. By Jules Lebreton, S.J. Two volumes. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1935. 10s. 6d. each.

THE LIFE OF JESUS CHRIST IN THE LAND OF ISRAEL AND AMONG ITS PEOPLE. By Dr. Franz Michel Willam. Translated and adapted into English from the fourth German edition. Edited by Rev. Newton Thompson, S.T.D. St. Louis and London : B. Herder. pp. 488. 1936. 15s.

Pere Lebreton's important work was briefly noticed in these pages on the appearance of the French original. Now that it has appeared in an English translation we call attention once more to its outstanding merit.

It is in the first place the work of a theologian, author of a celebrated book on the dogma of the Trinity as well as of many other theological writings. But apart from such studies as these, the author qualified himself for the writing of this book by ten years of lecturing on the Life of Christ at the Catholic Institute in Paris. These lectures, in fact, determined the form of the work. His hearers, he tells us, looked to him for an historical study and not for a demonstration of the truth on apologetic or controversial lines. They wished to gain a closer knowledge of their Master. But it must not be supposed that the book is cast in the form of popular lectures. It is nothing of the kind.

Again Father Lebreton does not pause in his narrative to solve the exegetic problems raised by a study of the Gospel text. He is chiefly concerned to bring out the historical facts of our Lord's life, and above all to make His Personality stand out in clear relief. And, as the narrative is not unduly hampered by textual exegesis, neither is it clogged in its flow by dissertations on the manners and customs of the Jews or on the localities and antiquities of the Holy Land, though it is plain throughout that the author has a thorough mastery of all these things. Whenever such matters have to be discussed at some length, this is done by means of footnotes. Moreover, there is a brief but valuable Introduction in which a number of preliminary problems are concisely solved. In any case the reader is referred to further literature on all these questions.

The work gives evidence throughout of an immense range of reading. The author, however, is careful not to overburden his pages with quotations : these are few but very much to the point. Witness, for instance, the very significant passage quoted in the Introduction (p. xv) in which a Protestant writer admits the falsity of the Protestant conception as to the origin of the Gospels, a misconception which led to many false conclusions. The author is equally at home with the early

Christian writers and the Fathers on the one hand and on the other with the most recent work of English, German, French, and Jewish scholars. But most of all he is familiar with the Scripture itself. His entire work is, as it were, impregnated with the sacred text.

The style is sober and restrained, without eloquence and without picturesqueness. It has the clarity that is characteristic of the best French writing. Very rarely does he obtrude upon the reader personal theories, views, or speculation ; but there is a most valuable Epilogue, in which he sets forth certain broad conclusions which have been forced upon him by the study of Christ's life. One of these is his solution of one of the most difficult problems presented by the Gospels—viz., the incredulity of the Jews or, to put it from another point of view, the almost total failure of Christ's preaching during His lifetime to convert the Jews as contrasted with the ultimate triumph of His Cross. For Father Lebreton the key of the whole Gospel is to be found in the words of Christ : " I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men to myself."

A word of warm commendation is due to the excellence of the translation, which is (in the second, revised, edition) all it ought to be, and to the admirable way in which the book is produced.

When we open Dr. Willam's book we are at once aware of having to do with a work of quite a different type. It has in the first place no Preface and no Introduction, unless the first four pages—" The Days of King Herod "—be considered as such. There are neither footnotes nor documentation. In fact there are throughout the book no references of any kind except to the text of the Scriptures. The publishers inform us that " an intimate acquaintance with contemporary Jewish problems, racial, political, and economic ; a familiarity with age-old traditions and established customs of the Jewish race ; a working knowledge of the topography, and working conditions of Palestine . . . . is the local ' atmosphere ' in which Dr. Willam's study is set." All of which is no doubt true, though the author nowhere in the book tells us that he has specialized in these matters. He may have thought that the title sufficiently indicated his special aim. However that may be, much light is undoubtedly thrown on Our Lord's life and teaching by the author's handling of his material. We see this from such passages as " Climatic Conditions and their Influence on Our Lord's Public Activity " (p. 196) ; " The Lower Social Strata at the Time of Jesus " ; " Business Practices and Methods at the Time of Christ " (p. 307) ; and in the setting and exposition of the parables. Indeed, nearly every episode in the Gospels is viewed in relation to some custom or practice of the people of Palestine or of the Near East generally. An average example is the incident of the blessing of the children

(p. 325). It begins : " It is customary in Palestine to have children blessed by men of special prominence such as pious dervishes. Thus one day a group of mothers brought their children to Our Lord." He goes on to describe in realistic fashion the life of oriental children; " How have these same children spent the day ? " he asks, and proceeds to tells us.

The author is matter-of-fact rather than sentimental. His style has a certain naivety or, better perhaps, homeliness about it that is refreshing. He is writing for convinced Christians for whom Our Lord's actions have neither to be defended nor explained away. Of his descriptive style the following brief passage may, I think, be taken as typical. He is speaking of the morning of the Resurrection : " In the month of April the sun rises over the Mount of Olives at about six o'clock. Nature at this time is in a peculiar mood. The streets are still filled with the cool night air, saturated as it were with dew. The first donkeys, laden with skin bags filled with water from the springs outside the city, come along with mincing steps ; dust rises, the voices of the drivers sound hale and hearty. Women bearing baskets full of vegetables follow the beasts of burden."

The translation seems excellent and the book is very handsomely produced. S. J. B.

ETUDES CARMELITAINES. Mystiques et Missionnaires. Avril 1936. Paris : Desclée de Brouwer. 15 fr.

THIS is a noteworthy number of a very remarkable review. We have many excellent reviews devoted to the scientific and philosophical study of the spiritual life, such as *Revue d'Ascétique et de Mystique, Vie Spirituelle, Zeitschrift für Aszese und Mystik ;* but this biennial review of the Carmelite Fathers is perhaps the most interesting—at least to a lay scholar. The present number is devoted to a study of Love in its psychological and mystical aspects—very full, very scientific and sometimes even startling to the alert and cautious reader. It will be of very general interest, even to the intelligent reader of high-brow novels.

The man of letters as well as the psycho-pathologist will find much matter to chew and digest. The article by Dr. Rudolf Allers, " *L'Amour et l'Instinct,*" is a solid piece of modern psychology, a very capable refutation of Freud ; but a few more injections of Thomist serum would do the learned Privatdozent of Vienna no harm. The same might be said and with greater emphasis of M. Gustave Thibon's article, " *Mystique et Amour humain.*" His very ingenious theory of " *sublimation* " has consequences which I do not think he suspects. The article has much merit as a study of religious " *sentiment* " and its possible evolution, but I think M. Thibon might study with profit

St. Angela de Foligno's discourse "*Les Pièges de l'Amour*" (p. 173, *Bibliothèque d'Ascétique et de Mystique. Fascicule II*) and enlarge his knowledge of St. Teresa and St. John of the Cross.

I would like to express the hope that Father Philippe de la Sainte Trinité will some time enlarge his magnificent article "*La Recherche de la Personne*" into a full-sized treatise. I think it is worth while. As a short tractate the thought is too dense for a layman without theology like myself to read with comfortable understanding. But it seems to me to be the most valuable and interesting contribution from the angle of pure mysticism in this number.

There are two "literary" articles. M. Charles du Bos writes on Coventry Patmore and makes that much-married poet quite interesting from the spiritual side. But one cannot forget his three wives! What would Tertullian have said? Father Bruno de Jésus-Marie contributes a study of Madame Acarie, a fascinating sketch which Bremond might have signed. And it is this same Carmelite Father who made the collection of "testimonies" with which this number opens. These are of very rare quality, both literary and spiritual, and a joy to read.

JOHN HOWLEY

HISTOIRE LITTERAIRE DU SENTIMENT RELIGIEUX EN FRANCE (Henri Bremond). *Index alphabétique et analytique.* Par Charles Grolleau. Paris: Bloud et Gay. 1936. 39 fr.

M. CHARLES GROLLEAU was entrusted by Bremond himself with the preparation of this Index, and well has he acquitted himself of the task. Even a single casual reference to the present writer finds mention, and I venture to think that this shows how thoroughly the work of indexing has been done. It should prove an invaluable guide, not alone to the regular reader of Bremond's monumental history of religious feeling in France since the days of the Huguenots to those of the Jansenists, but to all students who wish to consult it as a work of reference. Henri Bremond was acknowledged by all as a great scholar, of vast erudition in what had become a lost province in French letters and history. Unless you read Bremond, you cannot understand the reigns of Henri Quatre and Louis Treize; and had he lived to bring his work down to the death of Louis le Grand, we would have had a new light on the reign of the man who said "L'Etat c'est Moi," we would know why Quietism as well as Jansenism became political questions. That Volume XII, alas unwritten, would have been perhaps the most interesting of the series.

Behind the events of a great nation's history lies the mind of the nation as expressed in its art and literature, its political and theological theories. But behind the mind lies the spirit of prayer and anti-prayer, those deeper things which shape thought and frame events.

The genius of Bremond seized on these hidden springs of action and showed them to us with a mellow genial scholarship. The world is his debtor. He has given us a new outlook on France, that wayward eldest daughter of the Church. We see France at prayer, and we owe the vision to Henri Bremond. "Benefactoribus nostris sempiterna bona retribue, Domine!" JOHN HOWLEY

Biography

AUGUSTE. Par Léon Homo. Paris: Payot. 1935. 25 fr.
A HISTORY OF THE ROMAN WORLD. From A.D. 138 *to* 337. By H. M. D. Parker. London: Metheun. 15s. net.

THESE two books make each an interesting complement to the other. Professor Homo's appears in Messrs. Payot's well-known *Bibliothèque Historique*, and deals with the remarkable career of the first Roman Emperor. Mr. Parker's is a contribution to Messrs. Methuen's series "History of the Greek and Roman World," and gives an account of the process by which the Augustan "Principate" was gradually changed until, under Diocletian and Constantine, it became the Christian autocracy which left such an enduring impress, in different ways, on the history of both Eastern and Western Europe. The authors are in each case eminently qualified for the task set them, for Professor Homo is favourably known by a long series of brilliantly-executed works on Roman History, and Mr. Parker's study of the Roman legions made an excellent preliminary for the history of an age in which the army was dominant over the State.

Both works are doubly welcome, as well for their intrinsic value as for the fact that, surprisingly enough, each fills a vacancy in the shelves of the historian. This applies more to Mr. Parker than to Professor Homo, for although there has been no recent monograph on Augustus, the last volume of the Cambridge Ancient History has in its own majestic fashion supplied the need. Messrs. Methuen's series has in the case of the later Empire outrun its larger contemporary; but Mr. Parker shows no weakness for not having the formidable Cambridge model to go by. He has had almost no precedent in English since Gibbon, whose first volume covered the same ground. This is accounted for by the fact that while the epigraphical and similar material for the history of the third century has been steadily growing, the literary sources are for the most part poor and untrustworthy. It is a curious fact that, in spite of the great development in Roman literature during his reign, the same is to a certain extent true of the career of Augustus. The *Monumentum Ancyranum* and its fragmentary fellow from Antioch in Pisidia, welcome additions to our knowledge though they constitute, are not the equals of Caesar's *Commentaries* and Cicero's Letters. This paucity of contemporary literary material

has been probably the reason why so few modern historians have written at large on either Augustus or the events of the third century.

Professor Homo's book, brief but packed with information and ideas, is a fine example of the best French historical scholarship. It illustrates at the same time the defects of such French books, for it contains neither bibliography nor map, and its notes are the briefest references. On the other hand it is adorned by a series of very good photographs, including a beautiful new bust of Livia from the Villa of the Mysteries at Pompeii and the Louvre head of Agrippa, which it is interesting to compare with the splendid new one from Butrinto published by Mrs. Strong in the fourth volume of plates to the Cambridge Ancient History. The lack of notes is partly compensated for by generous quotations from authorities in the text. Among these are noteworthy Velleius's characterisation of C. Octavius, father of Augustus : " gravis, sanctus, innocens, dives," which might well be applied by an admirer to an American millionaire like Mr. Dwight Morrow, and the same writer's description of the Germans : " natum mendacio genus," which is quoted, one suspects, not without modern history in mind.

The treatment of Augustus's military and political achievements is on the lines of the latest conclusions by scholars, though it is a pity no note is taken of Sir Henry Stuart-Jones's extremely interesting suggestion that the powers of the Princeps were legalised in 23 B.C. by a *Lex de Imperio* similar to that known to have been passed later for Vespasian. Professor Homo is refreshingly silent on the famous " diarchy " theory, which for so long misled historians into thinking that there was a real division of power between Princeps and Senate. The functions assigned to the latter body were merely the " façade civile " behind which worked the Augustan *imperium maius*, which gave the Princeps actual control over all the activities of government, military, legislative, executive and judicial. The position of Augustus with regard to the older institutions of Rome was in fact not essentially different from that of the Duce to-day with regard to the Italian monarchy. The power of the Caesars rested on the army, that of the Duce rests on the Fascist militia. It is not for nothing that Mussolini, sprung though he be from the people, evokes the glories of imperial Rome.

Mr. Parker's book shows how the military framework eventually proved too strong for the civil façade. It was the disastrous wars of Marcus Aurelius, accompanied as they were by plague and growing financial stringency, that began the final revolution. Mr. Parker's book is a model of arrangement, and his notes at the end are remarkably full, so that he makes practically no statement without quoting his authority. Besides this the book contains a good bibliography, from which we miss only M. Grégoire's recent very striking article on

Constantine's conversion, and four maps. Mr. Parker rightly refuses to follow Rostovtzeff's famous thesis that the disasters of the third century were partly due to a revolt of country against town. He reasonably suggests that the clue to the whole development is rather to be found in the advice of Severus to his sons, that they should "enrich the soldiers and despise the rest of the world." The army soon came to control the State, and in the end the assassination of Emperors by discontented soldiers became almost a disease. On the other hand Mr. Parker notes the exaggeration in von Domaszewski's theory of a progressive "barbarisation" of the army.

Probably the most valuable part of the book is that which deals with the reigns of Alexander, Gallienus, and Aurelian. Mr. Parker shows that the restoration of power to the Senate by Alexander is a legend, that Gallienus was not responsible for the débacle of his reign, as was afterwards said by Latin historians, but rather was forced into inactivity by overwhelming ill-luck, and that Aurelian's introduction of Sun-worship did not betoken a wish to establish a divine right for Emperors. On the contrary it was a very significant attempt to refound the State upon a single worship, which was abandoned by the reactionary Diocletian, but which in the end led to Constantine's conversion. On this last very thorny subject Mr. Parker follows the safe guidance of Professor Baynes, without discussion of other very different views. His conservatism is intelligible having regard to the space at his disposal, and indeed helps to make his book what it is—a sound, well-balanced, well-arranged and very thorough introduction to one of the least-known and most important periods of European history.

M. T.

CARTERET. By W. Baring Pemberton. London: Longmans. 1936. Pp. 353. 12s. 6d.

THAT at this distance of time, almost two hundred years, Mr. Baring Pemberton should have undertaken the task of producing a work about a man regarding whom "no diary, no intimate journal, scarcely a private letter nor, for all his immense erudition, any writings beyond his official correspondence have come down to posterity," is a tribute to his enterprising initiative. That his book should prove as interesting as it does is a higher tribute still; and in the production of it his publishers have served him well.

Mr. Baring Pemberton's book can hardly be said to be a very personal study of Lord Carteret; in the absence of any sources of the kind listed above, this is not surprising. We hear next to nothing of Carteret the man as distinct from Carteret the politician. From

odd observations, however, thrown out here and there we feel that the loss is not especially great. For though undoubtedly a cultured and well read man, knowing not merely Latin and Greek but all the principal languages of the Europe of his day, Lord Carteret was rather too self-centred and too fond of his fire and book and bottle of Burgundy to have been very attractive in private life. He was twice married: first to a daughter of Sir Robert Worsley and then, shortly after her death in 1743, to Lady Sophia Fermor, one of the greatest beauties of her day. It is not any great credit to his memory, whatever its value as an index to his infatuation, that during his courtship of the latter lady he sometimes regaled his colleagues at Cabinet meetings by reading out her letters.

As far as the politician in Carteret goes, Mr. Baring Pemberton does full justice to the new orientation in Whig policy which originated with him, but seems to do something rather more than justice to the personal qualities of the originator. For to an intransigent, autocratic character Carteret added a lethargy which made him incapable of pressing on to a conclusion and which perhaps explains a somewhat unaccountable irresponsibility, even where grave issues were at stake. He was "always a clumsy negotiator where his own interests were concerned," says Mr. Baring Pemberton, and that may well have been true; but he was also a poor judge of character, and even in foreign politics, which were his forte, he was disposed to let his bitter antagonism towards France blind him to the fact that, though she had many and powerful enemies, she had also some friends.

Despite the fact that his forbears were staunch Tories, Carteret himself threw in his lot with the Whigs, though his Whig tendencies were more marked in the sphere of foreign than domestic affairs. Diplomatic missions of one kind and another brought him, in the course of years, into touch with most of the Courts of Europe, and for a period of seven years he was Viceroy of Ireland, where he courted the friendship and company of Dean Swift.

In disentangling the complicated issues concerned with Lord Carteret's continental missions, Mr. Baring Pemberton shows admirable skill, and so facile is he with his pen that he almost eludes detection in certain inconsistencies into which he lapses. These inconsistencies, into which we cannot enter, the careful reader must detect for himself. Yet allowing for them and for a certain amount of special pleading, it remains true to say that Mr. Baring Pemberton's book is well planned, pleasingly written and a welcome contribution to the story of a period which, though difficult and dull, is yet a very significant period, not merely in British but in European history.

C. O'C.

A GREAT MYSTIC OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: THE VEN. SISTER MARY CELESTE CROSTAROSA. By the V. Rev. Fr. Favre, C.SS.R. London : Ouseley ; Dublin : Browne and Nolan. 1935. 10s. 6d.

THERE are few gaps more obvious in the history of modern Catholic life than the lack of a satisfactory history of the Redemptorist Congregation. As the eighteenth century slips slowly into its proper perspective, we can see more plainly the desperate condition of Catholic life, north and south of the Alps ; and we can guess at the part played by St. Alphonsus and his immediate companions in the restoration of a strong, fighting, Catholic spirit. But the process of reconstruction was painfully slow in a world which seemed to have lost interest in Catholic ideals, and an adequate study of the Saint's influence and activity would be of inestimable value for all students of history. This biography suggests at least one aspect of the development of Redemptorist ideals ; for Sister Mary Celeste was a close friend of the founder of the Order, and her ideals seem to have influenced him profoundly at a critical period in his life. It is all the more then to be regretted that this biography should be so imperfect and unsatisfactory. The substance of the book is taken from a narrative written by the Sister herself ; like all such mystical documents, it takes much for granted and badly needs interpretation and criticism. The author of this volume has abstained from critical work of this kind, and leaves the story very much as he has found it in the Sister's unpublished narrative. Those who seek edification will find here what they want. But we still need a more elaborate work on the origins of the Redemptorist movement and its extension north and south of the Alps.

P. D.

Celtica

FOCLÓIR BÉARLA AGUS GAEDHILGE. *English-Irish Dictionary.* L. Mc CIONNAIT, S.J. Dublin : Stationery Office. 1936. 1546 pp. 7s. 6d.

FATHER LAMBERT MCKENNA'S *English-Irish Phrase Dictionary*, published in 1922, attained the objects for which it was designed : it helped in "the teaching of composition to students in all Grades of the Intermediate, in all stages of the National University, and in the Gaelic League classes through the country," and it undoubtedly enabled "the thousands of Gaelic Leaguers who do not speak Irish as their native tongue to more easily and readily write the papers and join in the discussions and debates which facilitate and enliven the study of Irish . . ." The same author's *English-Irish Dictionary*, just issued by the Government Publications Department, is also fundamentally a phrase dictionary and therefore fulfils the same functions as the earlier

work. It is more than six times as large, however, and much more complete—particularly where Ulster and Connacht phrases are concerned. The new dictionary, moreover, gives valuable information concerning the distribution of the phrases and grammatical forms among the three provinces in which Irish is still a living language.

That one man should at the same time be an expert in the literary language and in each of the three main dialects of spoken Irish exceeds the bounds of possibility. In view of this fact the Government supplied Father McKenna, who is well known as an expert in the difficult bardic language, with three assistants who were natives of Irish-speaking districts in Ulster, Connacht and Munster. They were Póilín Bhreathnach (Connacht), Siobhán Ní Mhainín (Munster), and Niall Ó Domhnaill (Ulster). Miss Caitlín Bonfield acted as secretary to the editor and his assistants.

In preparing the dictionary more than three hundred texts were excerpted and the phrases contained in them submitted to the scrutiny of the assistants. According as the assistants decided that the various words or phrases were current in the spoken language of their district, the excerpts were marked with one or all of the letters M (" Munster "), C (" Connacht "), U (" Ulster "). These letters will afford invaluable guidance not alone to learners endeavouring to use Modern Irish as a living language, but also to research workers engaged on those dialectal studies which are so important for the advancement of the science of linguistics. The new dictionary is unique among Modern Irish dictionaries in so far as every form contained in it either carries one of the letters C, U, M, to justify its inclusion, or some similar symbol referring to a text by a modern author. In the preface Father McKenna has explained the meaning of all the symbols used and has given instructions concerning the best method of using the dictionary.

That a work so vast and carried out within the short space of four and a half years—with the responsibility divided between numbers of modern writers, a general editor, and three assistants—should be free from mistakes, doubtful usages, and omissions, is not to be expected. Slips due merely to haste, such as the bibliographical reference (p. xxi) to Dr. Ó Searcaigh's Foghraidheacht Gaeilge an Tuaiscirt as Urlabhraidheacht or the omission (p. 1038) of the English word *prowl*, are of comparative unimportance. As a guide to future dictionary-makers, however, it would be well to point out that the usefulness of this dictionary would be greater had doubtful usages been supported by more exact references. On p. 57, for instance, where under the heading *as though* the phrase ċom maiṫ ⁊ dá mba náir ċualadh fé mé is passed as a Munsterism, an exact reference to the source of the phrase would be desirable, as those familiar with the Old Irish rule for sentences beginning with dá mba, and with Father Peter

O'Leary's usage, would expect a conditional ná cloiffeadh for the past indicative nár chualaidh. Again on pp. 422, 948, triall is given as a Munster equivalent of the English 'examination.' In West Cork the word would, I think, be triail, the form given by Father McKenna under the headings *test* and *try*. Even where a broad *l* appears in conjugational forms of the root-word triail, those forms, in Cork at least, remain distinct in sound from the corresponding forms of triall 'to go': do thriallamar 'we tried,' for instance, is in Cork recognizably distinct in sound from do thriallamar 'we went,' the diphthong in thrialamar being *i:a*, that in thriallamar being *i:ə*. In Kerry, where the two verbs have probably fallen together in the forms with a broad *l*, a new verbal noun triail 'test' (and hence 'examination') may have developed beside the older triail. To settle this doubtful point a reference more exact than "M" (meaning 'passed by the Munster assistant') would, however, have been desirable after the instances given of triall 'examination.' It would seem indeed that, confused by the multitude of different pronunciations heard by her from school-teachers and college companions, the Munster assistant was at times too ready to pass literary spellings and incorrect spellings as genuine Munsterisms when they were presented to her on slips excerpted from books by Munster authors. Under *before*, for instance, fuil should not have been passed as a Munster form, though it, or some form very similar to it, is undoubtedly the form from which have come the true Munsterisms far (also given in this dictionary) and faf (overlooked as a Munsterism, though Connacht fuil and feal are given beside fiuil and fail).* Both Munster and Connacht assistants have passed láimíní as the Irish for 'gloves' because of the frequency of that incorrect spelling in modern books. The spoken language in both provinces, however, reserves láimíní for the meaning 'little hands,' and for 'gloves' uses other forms, which are traceable to variants of the literary word for 'a glove,' of which the nom. sg. was lámann (*aliter* lamann), and the gen. sg. láimne (*aliter* laimne).†

Because the present reviewer, being familiar with Munster Irish only, has chosen to use the Munster section to show where the weakness and where the strength of the present dictionary lies, readers must not

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* That a literary fuil (ful) should give modern Munster far is parallel to the other modern Munster developments: amail>amar>mar 'as'; baile i>bail i>mar a 'where'; oi (ré)>ar (fear).

† For the declension of the literary word and its variation between short and long *a* in the root syllable see *Ir. Gramm. Tracts*, ed. O. J. Bergin, II, §12. The same variation between long and short *a* occurs in the literature in the words ráimann (raimann), ráimtheach (raimtheach) (see *Ir. Gramm. Tracts*, II, §12), and in other words. The Kerry laimní 'gloves' (pronounced to rime with gaibní 'smiths,' with a diphthong resembling that in the English word *tiny*) is derived from the form with short *a*. The West Cork láinní (pronounced to rime with fáinní 'rings') comes from the form with long *a*, as do also the Mayo and Galway forms. [J. H. Molloy in his *Grammar*, 1867, p. 35, based on a mid-Galway dialect, gives láimne 'a glove' as fem. sg., pl. láimnidhe.]

imagine that the dictionary is weak where Munster Irish is concerned. On the contrary it is particularly rich in Munster and Connacht phrases. Indeed if any reader has a right to complain of the store of phrases offered him, it is the reader seeking to improve his Ulster Irish. Ulster phrases seem to be definitely less in number than Munster and Connacht phrases.

But in treating of a dictionary where the store of phrases from all provinces is so rich it is misleading to speak of less and more. There is no page of its 1,500 pages which does not contain valuable information for the learner and the research worker. Moreover the general plan of the dictionary is so good, and the learning and industry devoted to its production so great, that he would be an ungrateful critic who would dwell on unavoidable omissions and occasional inaccuracy.

G. M.

STUDIES IN EARLY IRISH LAW. By R. Thurneysen, Nancy Power, Myles Dillon, Kathleen Mulchrone, D. A. Binchy, August Knoch, John Ryan, S.J. Published by the Royal Irish Academy. Dublin : Hodges Figgis. 1936. 10s. 6d.

In the year 1929 Professor Thurneysen, at the invitation of the Royal Irish Academy, held a course of Seminar-lectures for advanced students of Old Irish. The subject chosen for treatment was the legal status of women in ancient Ireland. The basis for the investigation was the text of the *Senchas Már* known as *Cáin Lánamna.* This text, which is chiefly concerned with the legal relations of man and wife, was translated and discussed during the lectures. This book of studies in early Irish law is the direct result of Professor Thurneysen's course.

It may be said at the outset that the idea, of which this book is the happy realisation, was an excellent one. To different scholars were entrusted the more detailed investigation of different, though related, problems or aspects of the whole question. *Studies in Early Irish Law* is then the result of the independent research of seven scholars. That there is no question of communal responsibility is made clear in the Preface contributed by Dr. Binchy : " The entire responsibility for each section rests with the individual contributors." Nevertheless the work is in no way scrappy or disjointed. The visible bond of unity is the masterly edition, translation and interpretation of the *Cáin Lánamna* by Professor Thurneysen which fills the first eighty pages of the volume. But there is, too, the less obvious though more profoundly unifying bond of the Professor's continued interest in the work. In the Preface he is thanked for the " advice and assistance (which) have been constantly at the disposal of the other contributors." Dr. Binchy does not exaggerate when he speaks of the book as " a memorial to Dr. Thurneysen's work in Ireland in 1929."

The subjects discussed at length include the classes of women in ancient Ireland, marriage and divorce, the legal capacity of women in regard to contracts, their rights and their duties towards their children, intra-family relations and inheritance, the *Cáin Adomnáin*. The contributions of Professor Thurneysen and Dr. Knoch are in German. The contributors are all distinguished scholars, and their essays are models of careful and patient scholarship. The highest praise that can be given to the book is to say that it is in every way worthy of the names it bears on its title page.

The work makes no concession to popularity or indeed to any form of human weakness. Every page carries its burden of solid learning. It is by no means easy to read, if one may speak at all of reading such a book. But for anyone who is seriously interested in the social conditions of early Ireland this volume will be invaluable. The patient and minute study of the *Cáin Lánamna*, together with all that the wider casting of the net has brought to the surface, affords an enormous amount of material for the understanding of old Irish law and for the tracing out of its very obscure development. It is no reflection on the work of these scholars to say that, for the many problems which this book solves, there arise from the very solutions a host of new difficulties. To mention but one such, there is the question of the relation of legal theory to legal practice in ancient Ireland. To what extent were these laws executed? The laws and the commentaries were written by jurist experts, but judgment was given by the king. To what extent was the king guided by the opinion of the jurists? And again, the later glosses and commentaries, written at a time when the original law-texts were no longer understood, reveal a chaotic state of affairs. To what extent did the speculations of the jurists at this time affect practical cases? It is clear further that ancient Irish law developed considerably throughout the centuries. It would seem that the practice was always well ahead of the theory and that the theory was constantly being forced into line with the practice. Does this not indicate that for much of the later period at least (say from the eighth to the fifteenth century), not the *Senchas Már* and its interpreters, but some other dynamic and perhaps unwritten code was the real law of the land?

Such questions will only be finally solved when the whole field of old Irish law can be viewed at once. This present work and such studies as Dr. Thurneysen's *Buergschaft* and *Irisches Recht* and Dr. Binchy's *Bretha Crólige* are like the shafts of light cast by a searchlight. Possessing as they do all the brilliance of the searchlight, these studies possess too its limitations—with the additional one, that they are necessarily fixed on one point. Even in those portions which are now happily illuminated much must remain obscure. Relations and connections cannot be perceived until the whole is revealed.

Studies in Early Irish Law shows how much careful study must be brought to the edition and adequate interpretation of a single Irish law-text. But it shows too that there is now no dearth of scholars excellently qualified for this difficult work. It has been fashionable in recent years to pour ridicule on the O'Donovan-Atkinson edition of the *Senchas Már*. It is fashionable too to decry the official indifference to Irish scholarship of the pre-Treaty period. But it was an alien government, through its Commission, which planned and executed the edition of the Ancient Laws. This undertaking, as we now know, was premature; but in spite of all its defects the work was great in plan and by no means negligible in achievement. The time is ripe now for the undertaking of an edition of the whole corpus of ancient Irish law. Will our native governments prove less enlightened than a foreign one? F. S.

LLAWLYFR LLYDAWEG CANOL (ARGRAFFIAD NEWYDD). By Henry Lewis. Cardiff: University of Wales Press. 1935. 4s. 6d.

This is not a reprint of the valuable Handbook of Middle Breton in Welsh by the same author published in 1922, but largely a new edition. The Grammar has been entirely revised and expanded, and the number of selections increased from seven to nine.

In the Introduction Dr. Lewis treats of the three historical periods of Breton: Old Breton down to the eleventh century, Middle Breton from the eleventh to the seventeenth century, and Modern Breton from the seventeenth to the present day. He enumerates the materials for the study of the first, indicating the similarities as well as the more important differences between it and Old Welsh, and rightly deplores the loss of the "secular" literature of the Middle Period, of the existence of which there is ample proof in the metrical intricacies of later Breton poetry. What has survived is almost exclusively "religious," and is entirely devoid of literary excellence and beauty. Modern Breton dates from the publication of Father Maunoir's *Le sacré collège de Jésus* in 1659, and has the four main dialects of Léon, Tréguier, Cornouailles and Vannes. The Introduction ends with an account of the orthography and the initial consonantal mutations of Middle Breton.

The important section of the Handbook is, of course, the Grammar (pp. 8-51), and constitutes the author's chief contribution to the study of the language and his greatest service to Celtic students. His detailed analysis is the outcome of a thorough examination of the textual material and an exhaustive research in the syntactical problems of the language, and in its lucid treatment, its comprehensive survey, and its several original expositions is most excellent and praiseworthy.

The Selections are, with the exception of the first (from *Buhez*

Cathell, the Life of St. Cathell), all poetical extracts, and the new additions are the second *Nouel* and the excerpt from *Le mystère de sainte Barbe*. At the end comes a complete Glossary, with references to the treatment of the words in the Grammar and their incidence in the Selections.

By his Handbook of Middle Cornish (published in 1923) and his Handbook of Middle Breton Dr. Lewis has rendered incalculable service to Celtic students inasmuch as he has supplemented the work of Loth and Ernault with a grammar and with illustrative selections of these two languages. And when *A Concise Comparative Celtic Grammar*, by Holger Pedersen and Henry Lewis, appears in the near future, Dr. Lewis can justly claim that he has done more to advance the study of Breton than anyone else of his generation.

J. LLOYD-JONES

Fiction

THE VEIL OF VERONICA. By Gertrude von Le Fort. Translated by Conrad M. R. Bonacina. London : Sheed and Ward. 1936. 3s. 6d. net.

LE PAPE DU GHETTO. Par Gertrude von Le Fort. Traduit par Jean Chuzeville. Paris : Desclée de Brouwer. 1934. 15 fr.

I FIRST heard of Gertrude von Le Fort through the pages of *Die Christliche Frau*, the monthly organ of the German Catholic Women's League. When, in 1929, the May number celebrated the completion of the Women's Peace Church at Frankfurt on the Main, it printed a dedicatory poem from her. I was struck then by her ardent sincerity, her deeply religious sense, the vigour of her imagination and the creative force of her language. Her poem had the mysterious gift of style. A critical article in the same number dealt with her *Hymns to the Church* and *The Veil of Veronica*, both of which had just been published by Kösel and Pustet. Here was obviously a new note in the renaissance of Catholic literature in Germany and one for which anyone interested in that revival would listen keenly in future. I have ever since followed her work and, though she is not a voluminous writer, she has produced more than enough to prove her claim to greatness in lyric verse and epic prose. Her second novel, *The Pope of the Ghetto*, appeared serially in *Hochland*, the South German Catholic Review, in 1929-30 and in book form in 1931. Her *Hymns to Germany* were published in 1933 and her book of essays on Woman in 1935. Besides those, there appeared in 1931 a short story of the French Revolution, *The Last on the Scaffold*. In the last year she has been lecturing a good deal in Southern and Western Germany. A convert to Catholicism she comes from a Prussian Junker family of French descent and has now exchanged her Northern province for a home in Bavaria a few hours distant from Munich.

Her principal contributions to prose literature are undoubtedly the two volumes under review. *The Veil of Veronica*, the scene of which is laid in Rome, is the story of a conversion told in the first person and may well be reminiscent of actual personal experience. The book is full of human interest and shows the outstanding gift of the artist—that of inventing and shaping characters who come to life and haunt the memory of the reader. Veronica's fascinating pagan grandmother; her aunt frustrated in her life and all but frustrating herself in her religion; Enzio, the twentieth century young German poet, type of the chaotic and the nihilistic, drawn towards the pagan underworld of Rome and fundamentally at variance with its Christian manifestations; Jeannette, embodiment of simple faith; and Veronica, child of a loveless marriage, condemned by her father to Atheism but mysteriously drawn into the orbit of her aunt's religious struggles, full of admiration for the natural greatness of her grandmother's character and culture, yet pursued by Divine Grace until at length aunt and niece are received into the Church. Such in rough outline is *The Veil of Veronica.*

A statement of contents gives no idea of the charm of the book. Gertrude von Le Fort is both sensitive to atmosphere and skilful in reproducing it. The worlds she sets over against one another are a pagan cultural one in which there is no shadow of preciousness and a religious one in which there is no suggestion of propaganda. In the analysis of the individual soul—in Veronica's and in Edelgart's—there is a suggestion of the *Hound of Heaven* motif and of the mysterious nature of grace. The novel is the work of a poet to whom it has been given to see God in His Church and to proclaim the vision in a language which has sculptural strength and emotional sweetness.

Le Pape du Ghetto is a novel of a different type—collective and epic where *The Veil of Veronica* is individual and lyric. It is historical—the period is the end of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century in Rome. The writer, with the unerring instinct of genius, chooses the form of the ancient chronicles, so that we live through the events with the groups who furnish the *dramatis personae*. Gertrude von Le Fort thus avoids the weariness of exposition and the paraphernalia of description, which are often so many snares and pitfalls for the "historical" novelist. The title gives no indication of the scope of the work. For, though it follows the evolution of the powerful and wealthy Jewish family Baruch Leonis, whose Christian descendant, Cardinal Pier Leone, "the Jewish Schismatic," had himself elected Pope under the title of Anacletus II in 1130, the novel reveals, as in a series of great frescoes, the character and aims of the reforming popes from Gregory VII to Honorius II. Here, as in *The Veil of Veronica*, there are the contrasting worlds—the turbulent

world of Germanic emperors and Roman nobles, the world of Jewry seeking justice at the price of vengeance, the world of Christ symbolised in the Popes under whose triple crown the Crown of Thorns presses. The struggle is always one for preponderance between this world and the next—a struggle that is repeated in the soul of every man.

It is difficult in a paragraph to convey an idea of the qualities of this book, universal in its spirit, human in its appeal, superhuman in its aim. The gift of shaping characters and events so that they stand out in clear relief is even more remarkable here than in the earlier novel by reason of the remote epoch and the crowded canvas. No praise could be too high for the manner in which the naïveté and charm of the chronicles and diaries forming the framework of the story have been captured.

The translations—both English and French—are excellent and the production of both books is good. It is to be hoped that the publishers will be encouraged to have the *Hymns to the Church* translated, for they are, as a German critic has already pointed out, "the religious and intellectual base of all her writings." They represent, moreover, the alliance of what has too often been divorced—poetry and truth.

MARY M. MACKEN

Social and Political Science

THE LABOUR CONTRACT. By Professor B. F. Shields. London : Burns Oates & Washbourne. 1936. pp. xvi-152. 5s.

IN few countries is Labour as restless as it is in Ireland. Is it because our workers are the victims of injustice, or is it because they expect more than justice ? And what can be done to foster a better spirit between them and their employers ? The present volume goes a long way towards enabling us to make up our minds about the answers to these questions. For it tells us all about the labour-contract, both as it is and as it ought to be.

The book opens with a brief survey of the personal and impersonal elements in the successful business undertaking. Then it shows how scrupulously these two elements were catered for in the Guild System, and how unscrupulously the human element has been neglected since the Industrial Revolution. There is much, therefore, that has to be put right in our present industrial order. First, there is the matter of child labour. A chapter tells us of the evils of employing children or young people outside the home, of the steps taken in various countries to discourage such a practice, and of the need for vocational training for all entering industry. Next come the problems of the adult wage-earner. Justice asks of him a fair day's work for a fair day's pay. What is a fair day's pay ? Here

the author gives us both the principles of the just wage and the legislation, etc., suitable for implementing these principles. He adds a chapter on the Trade Union—the worker's most effective weapon in securing favourable wages and conditions. What is a fair day's work? The chapter on the hours and conditions of work deals with all the various aspects of this problem. In this chapter the author touches on Female Employment. We wish he had treated this topic at greater length and in a separate chapter. Most of our new industries seem to employ only girls, so the topic is a very live and new one for us. The three final chapters deal with industrial disputes and how to compose them. It is by far the most interesting and constructive part of the whole study, and when you have read it, you will be more convinced than ever that we can have no lasting peace in industry until arbitration takes the place of the strike as the last word in disagreements between employers and employees.

Professor Shields provides us with a conspectus of the social legislation of representative countries in labour matters. But he is neither an empiricist nor a pragmatist when it comes to deciding what lines labour reform ought to take. He holds fast to the social principles set forth in the Encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno*. He heads each chapter with an extract from the one or the other, and he adds in an appendix other extracts relevant to particular sections of the different chapters. Hence the volume is not only eminently scholarly and practical, but it is also eminently Catholic in its positive programme. C. V. L.

LE VRAI ET LE FAUX PATRIOTISME. Par J. V. Ducattillon, O.P. Paris: Editions Spes. 1933. 12 fr.

EVANGILE ET NATIONALISME. Par C. Barthas. Paris: Editions Spes. 1933. 50 fr.

These two books will prove extremely useful to those who wish to know what attitude Catholics should take towards Nationalism and Patriotism. Love of one's own country is nowadays a dynamic thing urging whole nations to make great sacrifices and to embark upon dangerous, and often questionable, enterprises. It is a constant source of unrest, a prolific seed-bed of suspicion and war, and often so unreasonably violent and sentimental that many thoughtful persons are tempted to say that patriotism is a vice and the root of all social evils.

Fr. Ducattillon discusses the question philosophically, analysing carefully the concept of patriotism, and thus furnishing the grounds for distinguishing the virtue of patriotism from its vicious counterfeits. He shows how love of country may be an heroic virtue, as in St. Joan of Arc, and how it becomes a degenerate and destructive passion when the "patriots" are pagans. He argues very convincingly that the

time is ripe for forming a Society of Nations as a new Juridic Thing, and that the practice of the Christian virtue of Patriotism alone makes it possible to set up, define and preserve such a society.

The author, recognising the close connection between patriotism and the problem of war, studies the question of what war should mean to those whose patriotism is reasonable, and what duties it imposes upon them. Conscription, conscientious objectors, and the duties of citizens when the war in which they are ordered to engage is unjust, are all considered by the author. Thus, in a small book, he gives the general reader a clear account of the Catholic view on patriotism and the chief problems connected with it.

The other work by Fr. Barthas is at once much larger and narrower in content. The author examines the Gospels critically to discover what Jesus Christ taught about patriotism. This is a learned book, full of most interesting information about the political theories of the Jews, their religious Nationalism, and the whole social and political background against which Jesus Christ disputed with the Scribes and the Pharisees. The reader could not fail to learn a great deal about the mind and character of Christ and how His teaching and His character were tested by extravagant patriotic claims similar to those made to-day by the leaders of nations. J. E. C.

CHURCH AND STATE : Papers read at the Summer School of Catholic Studies, Cambridge, 1935. London : Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1936. 7s. 6d. net.

THE series to which this book belongs is deservedly well-known to Catholic readers. Gradually the scope of the Cambridge Summer School is being extended to cover, in a form which excellently combines the learned and the popular, a wide variety of topics, subjects of continual discussion in the press and over the wireless, on which it is at the same time often difficult to get sound teaching. None of the attractive volumes published under the School's auspices is more opportune than this, for the nature of the State and its relations with the Church are just now undergoing almost feverish debate both in Catholic and non-Catholic circles.

The questions here dealt with bristle with difficulties, and in the unfortunate cleavage that is now forming between States with radically conflicting "ideologies," they require to be treated with different emphasis in different places. While on the Continent the State has tended to become once more something like the Babylon of the Apocalypse, there still remains in England and Ireland enough of the now-old-fashioned liberal outlook to render necessary, even for Catholics, a reminder that the State is itself a *societas perfecta,* with rights as well as duties. In this book Mr. F. R. Hoare points out that even in England

political parties are showing signs of superannuation. It may be that the one-party State is approaching there also, as it has been both threatened and promised in Ireland. In this country one feels that while the State is all-pervading, it has more the effect of a fog than of a picturesque monster. Very few people in Ireland seem to have a proper conception of the State's authority or its origin. Professor O'Rahilly has recently pointed out some peculiar consequences of this. Perhaps the most far-reaching resides in the undoubted fact that it is dangerous in Ireland to teach the Catholic doctrine of the State in such a way as inadvertently to undermine the already weak notions of authority that are prevalent.

Such a caution is necessary even to readers of this book, which, partly under the influence of recent European events, is concerned to emphasise the independence and higher claims of the Church. This is of course perfectly right, and indeed care is to be taken also to make clear the other aspect of the subject, which, as above remarked, needs more elaboration in Ireland. The book is divided into two parts, historical and doctrinal. Each part might very well receive several volumes to itself. It is no easy matter to compress a complicated subject into brief lectures like those delivered at the School. Inevitably with such a plan and such wide scope, there are unevennesses. Father Lattey's opening paper, on the New Testament and the Pagan Emperors, for instance, is greatly surpassed by its successors, contributed respectively by Dr. W. E. Brown and Mr. Christopher Dawson. Then the book rather gets lost in an attempt to cover too much space, although Mr. Armstrong on the period from the Council of Constance to the Treaty of Westphalia and Mr. Douglas Woodruff on "The French Revolution and Beyond" are both interesting, if not overprofound.

In the doctrinal part of the work, the outstanding contribution is that of Mr. Evennett on "Authority and the Moral Order." There the question is traced in its essential lines from Plato to our own times, and it is shown that on the one hand Catholic teaching has inherited the central tradition of ancient philosophy, while on the other hand this teaching has been more and more departed from by modern jurisprudence. Nowhere, perhaps, is the perversity of human thought more clearly evident than in the once-fashionable denunciation, as the foe of liberty, of that institution in which more and more thinkers are now coming to see freedom's only bulwark.

In cordially recommending this timely and interesting book, it it may be permitted to refer as a conclusion to Mr. Dawson's very Mussolinean quotation from Dante's *Convivio* on p. 75. Indeed Dante's whole political theory might be recommended for study by fervid critics of modern Italy. M. T.

ESSAI DE SOCIOLOGIE. Par Luigi Sturzo. Traduit de l'Italien par Juliette Bertrand. Cahiers de la Nouvelle Journée, 32. Paris: Bloud et Gay. Pp. 247. 20 frs.

FOR the special task to which Don Sturzo limits himself he has the rare qualification of having first taught philosophy and sociology at an Italian seminary and subsequently taken a leading part in the troubled political developments of his country, until years of exile restored him to the scholarly pursuits of which this volume is an outcome. And it is just this diversity of experience in life that illuminates his abstract reasonings with a personal and humanistic touch which precludes all dryness, while his Latin mind clings to extreme clarity and precision of thought.

In his introductory chapter he rejects both the positivist and the metaphysical standpoint, refusing to regard society as an organism exterior and superior to the individual. For him the social basis is to be found in the human individual, at once concrete and complex, so individual that he cannot participate in any life save his own and so social that he could not exist or develop his faculties outside social forms. Thus his whole philosophic attitude is built up on the sanctity of human personality; and the effects of this conviction, held with an almost passionate intensity, may be traced through all his sociological conclusions, intimately interwoven with his Catholic faith. It is on his conception of man's "processus" that he bases what he calls the "historicist" system, which the present volume is intended to elucidate and which has resulted in a profoundly instructive survey of man's social life in its most varied developments. A few points only can be touched on in a review.

The chapter, probably, that will excite the most discussion is that on liberty and authority. There can be no doubt on which side lie the sympathies of the exile from Fascism. For him liberty and authority are co-equal conditions of all human society without which no true society can exist. How they are to be harmonised in practice constitutes the great sociological problem for all States in all ages. Don Sturzo emphatically refutes the theory that there is no such thing as real individual liberty, but shows how men have only secured it by ceaseless struggle. On the other hand, authority, having force on its side, needs always to be restrained from invading the rights of personality. The delimitation between authority and liberty is, he says, a fact of conscience. Liberty must be regarded as conscious participation in power—authority as a social conscience at once unifying and responsible. It is the abuse of popular sovereignty and a purely individualist conception of liberty which, by reaction, result in the Totalitarian State. Nothing, he concludes, is more needed to-day than

education in a sane, balanced and rational conception of the significance of both liberty and authority.

On the development of family life Don Sturzo throws over the once popular theory of primitive promiscuity of the sexes—he rejects all bio-sociological determinism—and perceives from the first a type of family life appropriate to the actual conditions of the various races. Monogamy, he truly says, is based on the equality of the sexes ; but "what difficulties at arriving at a true equalitarian conception!" Both domestic tradition and judicial legislation have almost always stamped a permanent inferiority on the woman. Even Christianity failed for centuries to extirpate recognised concubinage in royal and noble families. He sees in prostitution and all the social evils it entails a further outcome of belief in the inferiority of woman. Unlike many Catholics, Don Sturzo is a firm believer in the League of Nations as a modern development of the *jus gentium* of antiquity and of the Canon Law of the Middle Ages, and he defines its admitted weakness as an inevitable and almost irremediable consequence of the insufficient orientation of the public conscience and the ever-growing exigencies of international life.

It is much to be hoped that this able study may soon be available in English. V. M. C.

History

STALINE. Aperçu Historique du Bolshevisine. By Boris Souvarine. Paris : Plon. 1935. 30 fr.

SOVIET GEOGRAPHY. The New Economic and Industrial Distributions of the U.S.S.R. By N. Mikhaylov. London : Methuen. 1935. 10s. 6d. net.

M. Souvarine's book of almost 600 well-packed pages will repay earnest study on the part of all serious students of modern social and political development. It is conscientious and, considering the difficulties of the task and the very unsatisfactory nature of much of the material, on the whole a successful attempt to deal with two connected problems : the history of Bolshevism and Stalin's life and personality. If there are occasional evidences of a tendency to permit the material to over-crowd him—with some resulting confusion for the reader—the fault lies more with the subject-matter than with the author. Those acquainted with the difficulties that at every step have confronted M. Souvarine will be the most ready to recognise the success with which he has overcome most of them. He himself is well aware of the untrustworthy nature of the material at his disposal, of the extent to which much of it is deliberately devoted to legend-building, and he makes due allowance for these qualities. In sizing up situations, programmes and characters, his acumen and insight are seldom at fault.

M. Souvarine does not confine himself to an exposition of events and their development, but critically appraises their value. Many of his shrewd judgments hit the mark. Unfortunately, his own standards are not revealed to the reader, who is thus placed at some disadvantage. Would it be altogether wrong to assume that he has Socialistic leanings, but that he finds a great deal in Bolshevism and in Stalin that is difficult to digest? He is definitely repelled by many aspects of the character and the work of Stalin, but it is only occasionally that this repulsion blinds him to the man's considerable constructive ability. Any failure to give Stalin credit for his constructive ability is to be regretted, for herein consists much of his dangerous significance. M. Souvarine has largely, but not altogether, escaped the danger of minimising his hero's real abilities.

We have here a much more satisfactory adherence to and a weighing of evidence than is usual in books dealing with this and kindred subjects. It may be doubted, however, whether the role of the anonymous Bolshevik Party in securing the victory of that very composite product, Marx-Lenin-Stalinism, is sufficiently stressed. The author deals ruthlessly, and quite properly so, with the propagandist and sycophantic attempts, so universal in certain types of literature, to create a " record " for Stalin during every phase of his life. The reader will notice the sub-title ; and in this connection it is illuminating how little the name of Stalin appears in the first couple of hundred pages. This is only in keeping with the facts. I wonder whether the early insignificance of Stalin in the movement has not weighed unduly with the author when he comes to deal with later events and with Stalin's role as a leader and, in his way, as the saviour of Bolshevism. The history of Bolshevism up to the seizure of power in October 1917, and perhaps to the end of the Civil War, could largely ignore Stalin's existence ; but henceforward he assumes ever-increasing importance, and the life of Stalin and the history of the movement inextricably interpenetrate. But though it has been possible to ignore Stalin in the first one-third of this book, it must be borne in mind that even during these earlier years he was a typical Party " worker " and very representative of his class. The fact that he was representative of this type of Party member suggests one reason why it is possible largely to ignore him in the treatment of this period.

The efforts to depict Stalin as a philosopher, as one of the great contributors to the elaboration of Leninist ideology, and the manner in which Stalin himself lends himself to this, are amusing and are successfully dealt with by M. Souvarine. Stalin's real poverty as a " thinker," however, leads M. Souvarine occasionally to underestimate the importance of his primary and real role. The very strength of Stalin and, even in the days of his obscurity, his usefulness to the Party in

no small measure are to be found in the fact that he had no great interest in the theory of the movement or in the Byzantine logomachies of the factions—and much less understanding of them. As is more than once stressed in this volume, where others lost themselves and wasted their energies in interminable discussions, he moved to action, intrigued and struck. The author is on safe ground when he comes to Stalin's relation to Leninist philosophy. We have before us a man who has accepted the Leninist faith without question, who has insisted, as it were, on its verbal inspiration. The writings and even the scattered remarks of Lenin, however obscure and contradictory, have in the hands of this indiscriminating disciple become the official Holy Writ of the Soviet Union, binding on all, providing ideological justification for every adoption and reversal of policy, as well as an inexhaustible armoury whence to draw weapons to overcome all opponents, whatever their views may be. But to the practical work of consolidating a strong Leninist State, he has sacrificed, perhaps all unconsciously, much that many apologists of Communism may regard as characteristic of Marxism. However, to any such open or implied criticism, especially from the Socialist ranks, he might well retort that it is only at the price of these sacrifices that Socialism can be made to endure.

The picture of Stalin that remains to the reader of this book is much more like the living reality than the apotheosis that appears so frequently in open or veiled propagandist literature. The traits of the professional revolutionary, the petty intriguer, the man skilled in the intricacies of personal squabbles within the Party, the worker behind the scenes, have never been lost; but their field of application has been so expanded as to give them an entirely new significance. If, in the early years, he represented amongst his fellow conspirators a rather dull, pedestrian common measure of Bolshevism, with its distaste for philosophical subtleties, these qualities have stood him in good stead in his bitter struggle with his more brilliant and more volatile enemies such as Trotzky and the leaders of the various opposition movements. His early fitness as an instrument, his readiness to act without questioning, his ruthlessness, his freedom from scruples—these qualities of his that recommended him to Lenin as a valuable instrument did not desert him on the road to the Dictatorship and have not deserted him now that he is Dictator. To achieve his aims, to deal with his great crises, he did not, like others, trust to talk, but combined in useful proportions concessions, propaganda, sapping operations, denunciations, and vigorous repression. Apart from the colossal character of the work, successful or otherwise, of the machine which he guides and typifies, there can be little in him to appeal to the intellectual temperament and there is little in him that makes appeal to M. Souvarine. But it is questionable whether his intellectual limitations

have not been as useful to him in his particular role as even his verbal sobriety—I speak comparatively—and his refusal to find satisfaction in words or in subtleties.

It would, of course, be impossible in a review even to mention the many problems raised, and often effectively treated, in this stimulating book; but I have said enough to give the reader some idea of its high value, and I pass to the second book.

M. Souvarine's unfavourable verdicts on many aspects of the famous Five Year Plans will serve as a useful corrective for M. Mikhaylov's *Soviet Geography*—which, despite its title, can hardly claim to be altogether free from propagandist tendencies. This study of Soviet enterprise and planning, as important factors in changing the face of the vast territory of the Union, is a useful contribution to our knowledge of the material side of the Five Year Plans. We have an account ably put together and clearly presented, in which the author always remains master of his material. Readers of M. Souvarine's book, as of many other accounts of recent developments in the Soviet Union, will recognise the truly pivotal position of these Plans. It would hardly be an exaggeration to say that they have to a considerable extent swallowed up the original Socialism of the movement—and in these Plans it is the industrialisation rather than the cultural side that seems now to have become of dominant importance. A knowledge of the Plans and their working is therefore necessary to a fully considered view of Bolshevik policy. It is well that people should know the programme of the Government and the extent of their claims to have succeeded.

Here we have, so far as form of expression is concerned, a relatively calm exposition by a scientist, which loses nothing in propagandist value by his professedly limiting himself to description and by his avoiding the usual hyperbolic adjectives. The " colossal " still remains, but that is in the Plans and the claims. The author's own verbal restraint is effective. But the reader has to face a difficulty with which all students of Bolshevism are but too familiar. He will find it impossible to distinguish between projecting and achieving, between plan and performance. Previous experience of Soviet claims will counsel reticence in judgment. It must be confessed that it is impossible for anybody outside the Union, and indeed for anybody within the Union, properly to check the claims made. At every stage there has been too much readiness on the one side to prophesy immediate collapse and on the other side to proclaim unexampled success. The author deals with the great changes and the great developments that have taken place in all branches of Industry and Agriculture, and with the effect that this has had on the distribution of the population of the Union. But even if more is granted to the Soviet State than a critical weighing of the evidence would permit, the problem of how far such success as has

been achieved is due to the Soviet system is no nearer solution. We find exactly similar claims made on behalf of other systems that profess to be the direct opposite of Bolshevism. Especially attractive and useful, as methods of putting the author's point of view before the reader, are the numerous maps which make up a large portion of the book.

J. M. O'SULLIVAN

LA NAISSANCE DE L'ESPRIT LAIQUE AU DECLIN DU MOYEN AGE. Par Georges de Lagarde. 2 vols. Saint-Paul-Trois-Chateaux : Editions Béatrice. 1934. 70 fr.

No nation has had longer experience of *l'esprit laique* than the French nation, whether it be the France of Philippe le Bel or Voltaire or Clemenceau. And it is altogether fitting that a study of the genesis of this political phenomenon should have been undertaken by a Frenchman who is learned, clear-sighted and endowed with a gift of style. My only complaint is that he should have given his book to a printer whose errors are a sore blot on what is otherwise a fine achievement.

M. de Lagarde's first volume is no more than a very rapid and at times somewhat misleading survey of the long struggle between the ecclesiastical and secular ideal in the history of the later Roman Empire, the Carolingian Empire and the Middle Ages. So much has been written on the problems that are here summarised in a few brief chapters, that we may pass rapidly to the second volume, in which the author enters on his subject proper. But let us note that Roman law and the political theory of Aristotle had, by the end of the thirteenth century, gone far to make the medieval mind conscious of the distinction between Church and State in our modern sense. M. de Lagarde ends his first volume with an account of the controversy that centred round Boniface VIII and Philippe le Bel. Certainly French laicism could have had no worthier ancestor than the fanatical Nogaret, whose fierce anti-papal prejudices have helped to poison the whole literary tradition of the period. Forgery was only one of many arts which this King's minister used in his persistent campaign against the policy—and even the memory—of a Pope whom he broke at the height of his power.

One figure dominates the whole of M. de Lagarde's second volume : Marsilius of Padua—a man whose life's story is known to us almost solely as the writer of a single book. True, modern research has been able to glean a few scanty facts as to the years which preceded the publication of the *Defensor Pacis* in 1324 ; and the *Defensor Minor* must be added with one or two minor tracts of the later period. But Marsilius still remains the man of one book. How are we to account for the extraordinary bitterness that marks this famous attack on

the medieval papacy? And what was its influence on contemporary thought? M. de Lagarde has had the advantage of being preceded by a number of scholars who have sought to elucidate this problem—notably an Irish-American, Mr. J. Sullivan, as well as Dr. Previté-Orton in England and Professor Scholz in Germany. But he has much to add of his own; and this analysis of a book that is not easily read in the Latin original will be welcomed by all students of the period.

M. de Lagarde insists on two or three points which will be new to many readers. Marsilius was no lawyer: his failure to use the Roman jurists and his misunderstanding of some well-known legal terms make this conclusion certain. And if Marsilius was no civilian, it is even more certain that he was no canonist. This forerunner of so many of our modern politicians is like them in the fact that he knows no more of canon law than the text of a few papal bulls which he wishes to attack; and even these are quoted in a way that suggests the influence of Nogaret's forgeries. Again, Marsilius was not influenced by the contemporary anti-papal literature of the schismatic Franciscans, William Ockham and Michael of Cesena. His affinities are very much closer to the sect of the Waldensians; and M. de Lagarde has a very valuable chapter in which he proves this point in detail. It is less surprising to find that Marsilius was almost certainly affected by the legists of Paris—though they were no longer so powerful in the King's council as they had been a quarter of a century previously. Marsilius is in fact a politician whose early years were spent in Padua, where the Guelf-Ghibelline feud had poisoned the life of his fellow-citizens. What little reading he had done was directed to his immediate end: the formulation of an anti-papal and anti-ecclesiastical system. Unlike Dante, his writing does not reflect the actual strife of city with city, and podestà with podestà; but the two men are children of the same age. And Dante, the poet, is the more anxious to think deeply, to find some solution of the central problem of his generation. Marsilius is content to hammer at his own theory, until he has forged a weapon of attack.

The book was written in 1324. How was it published? Is it true that the author's actual autograph copy still survives at Tortosa? Must we distinguish between a French text, which corresponds with the first form of the book in 1324, and a German text which includes a certain amount of revision after the author's flight to Germany in 1326? What part had Jean de Jandun in the whole episode? Were the Popes successful in their attempt to suppress copies of the book from the very beginning? How far do those contemporaries who attack the theories of Marsilius show that they had actually read his text, or were criticising him on hearsay? These are some of the

problems which the author discusses, and again he has the advantage of being able to use the results of his predecessors, whom he faithfully quotes throughout in his footnotes.

One word in conclusion. In a certain sense, the work of Marsilius is the triumph of Aristotelian ideas in conflict with medieval tradition. But it is the Aristotelianism of the Averroists, not of Albert the Great and Saint Thomas. More is the pity that Saint Thomas did not give fuller expression to his thought on the social and political problems of his age. It was, perhaps, inevitable that those defenders of the papacy who found themselves faced with this formidable onslaught should have been driven to extremes ; and that the thought of Saint Augustine, in its more extreme form, should have made a strong appeal to men who instinctively rejected the radical theory of lay-control in State and Church. But the writings of men like Giles of Rome, Augustinus Triumphus, Alvaro Pelayo and FitzRalph of Armagh had unexpected repercussions ; and the century ends in a welter of confusion. Ockham's share in the general confusion has not yet been adequately studied ; and it is good news to hear that M. de Lagarde intends to continue his series of volumes with a detailed study of Ockham's democratic theories. For, though it may be true that Ockham did not influence Marsilius, it is certain that Marsilius affected Ockham's thought. And the whole episode of the Franciscan schismatics in Germany still awaits a final interpreter. A. G.

Philosophy

THE SPIRIT OF MEDIAEVAL PHILOSOPHY : Gifford Lectures 1931-32. By Etienne Gilson. Translated by A. H. C. Downes. London : Sheed and Ward. 1936. 15s.

M. Gilson's Gifford lectures were delivered in French at the University of Aberdeen, and have been available for the past two years in their original form. But this English translation, in itself an excellent piece of work, will be welcomed by all students of medieval philosophy. M. Gilson has been a specialist in this field for the past twenty years ; and it is interesting, now that he has come to be acknowledged a master, to look back on the various phases of his intellectual development. His first books, like so many other writings of the modern Catholic school in France, show the strong influence of the Thomist revival ; and M. Gilson's early volume on Thomist philosophy still ranks as one of the ablest summaries of that system for the modern student. But a more detailed study of the rise and triumph of the Thomist school led M. Gilson to appreciate more clearly the importance of that older Augustinian school against which Saint Thomas had to make his way, often in the face of a very determined opposition ; and the different attitude of the Franciscan and Dominican schools

suggested that the influence of Saint Augustine was stronger and more enduring than many scholars had understood. Hence M. Gilson was led from Saint Thomas to Saint Bonaventure, and his volume on the Seraphic Doctor is a most valuable contribution to the study of Augustinian traditions. But who can study Augustinianism without being drawn to a deeper study of the greatest of all Christian thinkers? And M. Gilson, who had been lecturing for some years in America, had learned from his personal experience as a teacher that Saint Augustine can make an amazingly direct appeal to the modern mind. Hence his *Introduction à l'Etude de Saint Augustin*, which bears traces of the long years of study which have led M. Gilson to appreciate in a new light the intellectual influence of the great African doctor. His more recent (and highly technical) inquiry into the sources of the theology of Duns Scotus and the relation of Scotism to the thought of Aristotle, Augustine and Avicenna, has opened up a new line of research into the intellectual history of the Middle Ages.

It is therefore at the end of a long evolution in his own thought that M. Gilson has come to write this most interesting volume. Its title has been criticised as an inadequate description of the central thesis of the book; and M. Gilson himself tells us somewhere that he hesitated a long time before rejecting his first choice of a title: *Essai sur la philosophie chrétienne*. That would indeed have been a more accurate description. For M. Gilson is preoccupied from his first lecture to his last with a problem which he has stated as follows: Can there be a system of thought which we recognise as a Christian philosophy? Or is the very name a contradiction in terms? Critics have not been lacking, notably at Louvain, who have maintained that M. Gilson has brought confusion into an order that had been gradually accepted. Philosophy, so they argue, is essentially a natural science; and M. Gilson is deliberately confounding what has long since been distinguished as theology with a distinct though cognate field. No reader of these lectures can fail to appreciate the point of this criticism, which may be put in another form. Has not M. Gilson allowed his admiration for Saint Augustine to lead him into a confusion which was characteristic of medieval thought and which is precisely the chief obstacle to an intellectual sympathy between modern thinkers and their medieval (and Catholic) predecessors?

M. Gilson would answer at once that the history of medieval thought is unintelligible without a full appreciation of the part that Christian dogma, claiming to be based on supernatural revelation, has played in the development of medieval philosophy, whether that philosophy be Augustinian or Thomist or Scotist—or even Nominalist. Some of the early lectures in this volume are brilliant explanations of this point of view. That a Christian believed on supernatural grounds in the unity and trinity of God, the fact of creation, the mystery of the Incar-

nation, the immortality of the soul, the divine law as expounded in Old and New Testaments, has unquestionably had a profound influence on European thought; and M. Gilson must have surprised some of his hearers at Aberdeen when he pointed out to them how much our most fashionable systems of modern philosophy are indebted to Christian dogmatic teaching for their form and their historical genesis. The book is too packed with detailed analysis to make any full review an easy task; but I should like to call attention to the lectures on Being and its Necessity, Christian Optimism, Christian Personalism, Freewill, Conscience and Obligation, as notable examples of this method of apologetic. M. Gilson may fairly claim to have succeeded in his immediate task, which was to show the modern student that modern thought, far from having been hampered through long centuries by the deadweight of an irrational dogmatic system, has been enormously stimulated and illuminated by that very influence.

But there remains the question which M. Gilson propounds in his first lecture. Is it wise to attempt to reduce all the various medieval systems of philosophy to a common denominator as a single "Christian philosophy?" No doubt, there is an immense amount of common ground among them all; but nobody has done more than M. Gilson himself to prove that, in the last analysis, Augustinian theories of the intellect and the will are as irreconcilable with the Aristotelian theories of Saint Thomas as Plato's own teaching is with the teaching of Aristotle. Scholars have agreed to reject the conception of a single scholastic philosophy, with Thomism as the archetype. Why then renew the confusion by attempting this simplification of the problem in terms of Christian philosophy?

Whatever the reader's view on this central question, there is an immense amount to be learned from M. Gilson's book. Many readers will be grateful for his fine defence of the Franciscan school of Bonaventure and Duns Scotus, with its attempt at a synthesis of Augustine and Aristotle that is in some ways more attractive than the thoroughgoing Aristotelianism of Saint Thomas. Those who have not read M. Gilson's short history, *La Philosophie au Moyen Age*, may be surprised to find how enthusiastic this eminent historian of medieval philosophy is in his appreciation of the Franciscan as contrasted with the Dominican school. Others may note with interest his exclusion of Ockham and the whole Nominalist school from a series of lectures on the Middle Ages. But M. Gilson has always held, and there is much solid reason in his favour, that a history of modern thought should begin, not with the Italian Renaissance or Martin Luther, but with the thinkers of the fourteenth century. Ockham's is essentially a modern mind, just as Marsilius of Padua, Nicholas d'Oresme and Nicholas d'Outrecourt, are surprisingly modern; and Luther's main doctrines can be found in Bradwardine and Wyclif. But there is no true dividing line

at any point in the history of human thought; and Ockham's critical attitude is in truth no more than a development of that barren Averroism which was advocated by thinkers like Siger de Brabant in the preceding century. Man has always been an inquiring animal in every century of his long history. A. G.

SCIENCE ET SAGESSE. Suivi d'éclaircissements sur la philosophie morale. Par Jacques Maritain. Paris: Labergerie. 1936. 20 fr.

THIS is one of the books that are the despair of the reviewer. M. Maritain touches upon so many points of interest, his exposition is so close and so logically compacted, that any selection is apt to give an incorrect impression and even to falsify his theories. I shall merely endeavour to indicate some of the problems he discusses. He has a philosophical insight which always seems to penetrate to the questions which are really relevant—the kind of questions which the average text-book on philosophy does not so much overlook as definitely evade. One of the problems that emerges from the contrast of "Science et Sagesse" is the problem of the relation of philosophy—both metaphysics and the philosophy of nature—to the special sciences. Both Aristotle and the medieval philosophers, M. Maritain tells us, fell in this matter into a grave error of intellectual over-eagerness. For them the philosophy of nature absorbed all the sciences of nature, analysis of the ontological type absorbed analysis of the empiriological type. All the sciences of the material world were parts of a single and unique science—*philosophia naturalis*—to which belonged at once the explanation of the substance of bodies and that of the rainbow or of snow crystals. The moderns, as a result of the revolution inaugurated by Galileo and Descartes, fell into precisely the inverse error; the philosophy of nature was absorbed in the special sciences. Owing to the wonderful scientific discoveries of the modern age science supplanted wisdom, or at least the wisdom *secundum quid* of the philosophy of nature. There must be, in fact, in addition to the special sciences a philosophy of nature. All this is a matter of very delicate interrelation. We cannot construct a philosophy of nature independently of scientific facts or maintain it in isolation from the sciences. This is an inevitable tendency if we confuse metaphysics with the philosophy of nature. But then, if this is the truth of the matter, how are we to escape constant change in our philosophy?

"S'il est vrai que la philosophie de la nature exige de se compléter par les sciences . . . ne doit-elle pas accepter en conséquence une certaine loi de vieillissement et de renouvellement? Non pas certes de mutation substantielle! Il y a continuité substantielle entre la philosophie de le nature telle qu'elle se présentait à Aristote et telle qu'elle se présente à nous; mais elle a subi bien des changements en route, bien des vieillissements et des renouvellements . . . .

A treatise of metaphysics, M. Maritain tells us, can traverse the centuries ; a treatise of experimental physics or biology may survive twenty years, ten years, two years. And a treatise of the philosophy of nature ? At the most it may live the life of a man, and this on the condition of being constantly brought up to date, because it must necessarily be in intimate contact with the phenomenal sciences. It is obvious that this is a most fascinating problem, and it would be of great interest to find how it would work out in detail.

Again, M. Maritain attacks the question of the precise meaning and import of " Christian philosophy." In what sense can we speak of philosophy with a qualifying adjective ? " I use," he says, " this term *Christian philosophy*—and how can I do otherwise ? A vrai dire il ne m'enchante guère." All words are deceptive, and this too may lead to misconceptions. It certainly does not imply " the enrolement of philosophy in a pious Confraternity." And he then goes on to explain to us, with admirable lucidity, what it should mean. I cannot follow the details of his treatment. Philosophy in the Christian era inevitably develops in a Christian climate, so to speak. A Christian thinker is a Christian and cannot divest himself of his Christianity and become quite a detached speculator who leaves his soul as well as his hat in the vestibule of the temple of knowledge. Admittedly every historical age has its inconveniences. In the Middle Ages philosophical problems, even when clearly distinguished in theory from theological, were often too exclusively envisaged from the theological angle. But in any case Christian philosophy is always intensely alive. It is not to be regarded as a finished and inert mass of theories—grâce à Dieu le travail ne manque pas aux philosophes de l'avenir.

D. O'KEEFFE

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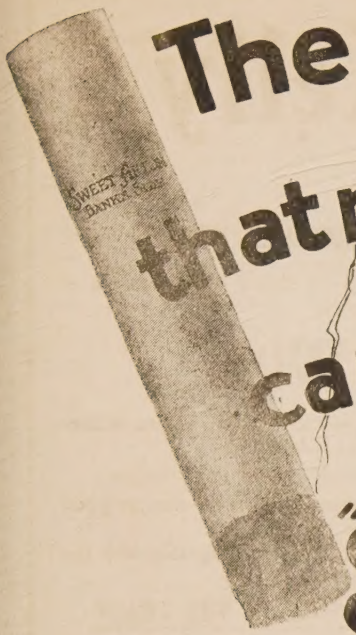

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